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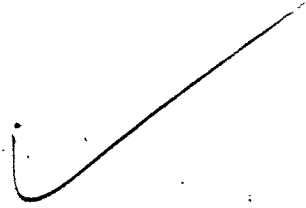
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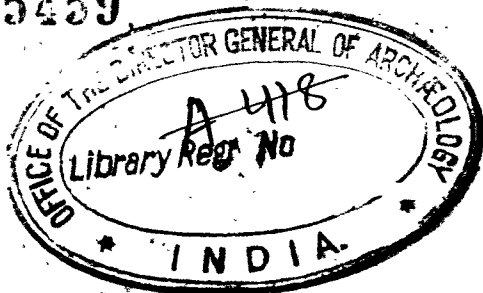
THE  
ASIATIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.



NEW SERIES—VOLUME III.

JANUARY—APRIL, 1892.

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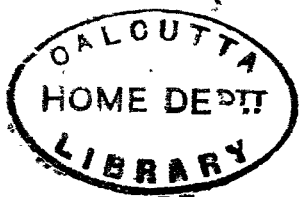
LONDON

PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, LIMITED,  
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, E.C.

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THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

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JANUARY, 1892.

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INDIA AND CHINA.

THE cost of British representation in China was for many years a charge upon the budget of British India. The item had an anomalous look in the Indian Accounts; but there was more in the arrangement than merely the strong partner debiting the weak one with an undue share of the common expenses. Our relations with China were in their origin more Indian than British, the China trade itself having been a perquisite of the Honourable Company. The trade between India and China has not decreased in recent times, but the general foreign commerce of China has developed more in the direction of Europe. "Manchester" has during the last thirty years assumed a large interest in Chinese matters, and may in fact be said to divide with the missionaries the attention of our diplomatic and consular services in that Empire; and Great Britain has consequently seen fit to relieve India of the expense of these establishments.

And yet the bond which binds the interest of India to that of China is not severed; its true strength indeed has scarcely as yet been discerned. Not in the commercial province alone, important as that is, but in the highest political sphere, a common interest—perhaps a common destiny—links these two ancient human aggregations together. Separated as they are in race, and different as has been their social history, in certain grand external features

the two peoples resemble each other. They are both subjugated races, which, unable to perpetuate Home Rule, have had to accept the government of aliens. The political resemblance, however, scarcely goes beyond this bare fact, for the Moghul and British rulers in India never ceased to be alien, whereas the Mongol and Manchu rule in China (not to speak of the many temporary inroads of other less known races) only survived through becoming Chinese. This discrepancy may only signify that India has advanced a stage beyond China in the succession of her conquerors, and that the drama of history has still some chapters to unfold which will bring the destinies of the two Eastern peoples into line.

The same cloud lowers over the Chinese continent as over the Indian peninsula : accident will determine at which end of the line the storm will break. But whichever may first receive the shock, the other is sure to follow ; it is a case of *hodie mihi, cras tibi*. If ever, therefore, there was a demonstrable common interest, it exists now between India and China. So obvious indeed is this, that an alliance offensive and defensive between the two empires is laid down by political watch-dogs like Sir Charles Dilke as a combination growing out of the sheer necessities of the situation. The idea of such an alliance was probably first given tangible shape to by Mr. Colquhoun, when correspondent of *The Times* in China ; and since the scare of 1885, the idea seems more or less to have taken possession of British statesmen, and even soldiers.

As an idea there is nothing to be said against it. The union of two nations to keep back the invasion of a third is as commendable as any league of peace ever was. Like "Imperial Federation," however, and many other grand ideas, its difficulties only show themselves when the scheme begins to be thought out. The general principle may be fully accepted on both sides, the mutual benefit realized, and the life-and-death importance may even be faintly apprehended ; but, as Carlyle says, Will it march ?

An alliance between Great Britain and China—for that is what it would come to—presents the initial difficulty, that neither side could ever be got to trust to the co-operation of the other. An alliance with Great Britain would be a rotten stick for any Power to lean upon, with the new democracy compelling Ministers to expose their hand every afternoon at 4 o'clock, to say nothing of the conflicting views of the great political parties. And an alliance with China: with whom would it be made? The Emperor is never seen, and will certainly never take part in affairs. Ministers there are none, in the ordinary sense of the word, for the Tsung-li-yamên, or Foreign Board, does not discharge such functions. The number of its members would alone ensure paralysis of action, no one daring to assume any responsibility, scarcely even to open his mouth in presence of the others, and their whole mission in life being to "bluff off" foreign representatives on all and every occasion, and on all and every subject. There remains the one official who is able to put through business, the Viceroy Li Hung-Chang, who fills the anomalous rôle of *de facto* Foreign Minister, while holding no portfolio corresponding to the functions he exercises. He is the authoritative adviser of the Tsung-li-yamên, who, though jealous of his power, do nothing without his approval; and he is the confidential adviser of the Sovereign on external affairs. Through no other channel therefore could the relations between England and China be effectively dealt with.

But to say this, is tantamount to declaring any working arrangement impossible; for no English official has ever succeeded in establishing relations of intimacy with Li Hung-Chang. The British Ministers to China have followed a consistent policy of forcing that Government to transact its business in its capital, and have declined to recognise Li beyond exchanging the driest civility in passing through his city. Neither have the British Government taken the pains which some other Powers have done, to select their consuls to Tientsin with special regard to the

diplomatic requirements of the post. Had they acted otherwise, however, the result would not perhaps have been very different from what it is ; for though the Viceroy Li understands the situation perfectly, and knows that India and China making common cause against a common danger, would indefinitely postpone that danger, yet it would be against all Chinese traditions to make an even bargain with any Power whatever. Never in her history has China been called on to treat on equal terms ; and consequently her statesmen have inherited only one conception of international relations, that of beating or being beaten. It is no disparagement to the perspicacity of Li Hung-chang, to say that he is thoroughly Chinese in his ideal of an agreement.

Neither, therefore, from the orthodox diplomacy of the Capital, nor from the less regular negotiations with the chief satrap of the Empire is there, as matters at present stand, much hope of any understanding between India and China that would be of practical value to either.

Yet the idea of a Chinese alliance has taken such strong hold of some of the most approved authorities on the Defence of the Empire who set high value on the military potentiality of China, that they think the prospect of such an alliance worth all the sacrifices Great Britain can make to conciliate China. But granting the full value of the alliance, and postulating its attainability, the best means of attaining it would still remain to be considered. The policy implicitly recommended by the said British authorities is one of concession on all non-vital points, avoidance of all cause of irritation, and a very Christian spirit of forbearance towards the Chinese Government.

Now, whatever may be the value of the good opinion of China, the way to secure it is certainly not the way of weakness, but of strength. The Chinese are themselves too great adepts in the art of cajoling to be in the least impressed by the tactics of flattery when practised on them by others. Their experience of foreign Powers would have taught them, if their own traditions had not, that excessive

conciliation does not go with strength. But the two qualities supremely needful in an ally are strength and fidelity. Eastern nations—if in this matter Western may not also be included—revere strength, even when roughly displayed ; and a surer way to gain the confidence of China would have been to hold her firmly to all her engagements, to admit no evasions, and to impress her with our rigour. Nothing for many a day has made such a wholesome impression on Chinese statesmen as the somewhat brusque manner in which the Admiralty have resented Li Hung-chang's treatment of Captain Lang. The fact of a British Admiral (Richards) passing twice through Tientsin without paying the usual courtesy to the great Viceroy, was a real mortification to that potentate, who had been accustomed to have everything made smooth for him ; and he now begins to perceive that, though willing to help in an honourable way, the British Government is not a power to be trifled with. Were the Foreign Office as tenacious of its dignity as the Admiralty, the obstacles to a perfect understanding with China would be in a fair way of removal.

But what impression was likely to be made on China by such long-drawn-out but most miserable defeats as the giving up our rights to the benefits of the Chefoo Convention of 1876, after having implemented to China the full—and much more than the full—benefits which were assigned to her under that instrument ? Contrast the able manner in which the Chinese Minister in London imposed on the British Government the task of collecting the Chinese opium revenue for them in the British free port of Hong Kong with the series of indignities put upon the British Minister in China, culminating in the complete collapse of his claims and the surrender of the right of British steamers to ply on the Upper Yangtze. Again, in what estimation are Chinese statesmen likely to hold a Power that submits to play the dismal farce in Sikkim, which has been dragging its slow length along for the last four years ? Is faith in the strength of India likely to survive such a shilly-shallying exhibition ?



It is necessary, however, in this matter also, to put the saddle on the right horse. Had India been left free to conduct the Tibetan affair, it would have been managed with credit and success ; China herself would have been relieved of a great embarrassment, and all parties concerned would have been satisfied. But India was overruled by a higher power, and her better intelligence paralysed by mysterious orders based on mere illusions. The "problems of Greater Britain" are no doubt very complex, and the Imperial Government is often obliged to sacrifice the less to the more exigent interests in this or that portion of the vast reticulation. But in dealing with China there was no excuse for dropping the piece of meat in the mouth for the sake of that which was reflected in the water, for the same movement would retain or lose both. The plain business-like defence of the integrity of her frontier, which the Indian Government had initiated, would have disposed in three months of the differences which have kept up a constant irritation for four years, without any apparent progress being made towards a settlement.

Seeing then that British policy in China has in these days mainly to do with Indian interests, and that the Home Government has its hands obviously too full to be able to give that attention to the question which its importance demands, it may be asked, Is there any valid reason why our diplomatic representation in China should not be devolved on the Government of British India ? It is far from a new idea, that officials who have had the advantage of Indian political training would be better fitted to deal with the ultra-Orientalism of China than any of those gentlemen who have merely passed from Berne to Copenhagen, and from Rome to St. Petersburg. Were there in Peking any scope for diplomacy, properly so called, the cases would be different. But the etiquette and maxims of European courts are wholly out of place in China, where only the stiffest and most empty official intercourse, and no private intimacy whatever, exists between the foreign Ministers and the high

Chinese. The American representatives, who go to China without even a rudimentary knowledge of the ways of diplomacy, get on quite as well as the most polished courtier from Europe ; perhaps even better, through their being untrammelled by the forms and customs of diplomacy *à la mode*. An Indian official, therefore, would be under no disadvantage through lack of diplomatic experience, while his special knowledge of Oriental character and ways of procedure would certainly save him from many of the humiliations and failures which the professional diplomat continually suffers. It may be affirmed with the utmost confidence, that an Indian official at Peking, acting under orders from Simla, would have saved the British equally with the Chinese Government from grave annoyance, and the Indian exchequer from most inconvenient outlay, by simply dealing with plain facts in a plain way and refusing to have the wool pulled over his eyes by Oriental palaver.

It may be urged, of course, *per contra*, that the Indian official, accustomed to lay down the law to feudatories or to negotiate with hill tribes in front of his battalions, would probably succeed as ill as the Ministers and Consuls now do in establishing friendly personal relations with high Chinese officials ; nor is it to be supposed that any Indian official drawn haphazard from the list, or by mere seniority, as the Consuls now are, would possess the personal magnetism necessary to make friends of the Chinese. But Anglo-Indian history shows that there are always in the service men of exceptional character, who are able to obtain very great personal influence over natives. The required qualities are not so very rare separately as they undoubtedly are in combination. Resolution and calmness are British characteristics ; truthfulness may not unfairly be claimed as the prerogative of an English gentleman ; and it needs only sympathy to be added to these, to complete the equipment of an Oriental diplomatist.

There is a serious difficulty, no doubt, in the inaccessibility of the Chinese, owing to constitutional character

and their social customs—two formidable barriers, indeed, to free intercourse. Yet even these may be overcome ; though it is the Russians alone who have hitherto shown us how to gain the confidence of these people, and to convert enemies into friends. The only foreign official, for example, whom Li Hung-Chang really trusts, is a former Russian Minister in Peking, General Vlangally, who has since been at the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg. In difficult discussions with the Russian Government, the Viceroy has been known to assure himself of the *bona fides* of certain arrangements, by telegraphing direct to General Vlangally, who had never deceived him. But the art of gaining the hearts of Asiatics (and of others too) is so much a special gift of the Russians, that it is almost trite to remark upon it. Look at the almost miraculous taming of the Turcomans. Here is another example. While Europeans—and especially the English—fail to gain, or to try to gain, even with frequent opportunities of personal intercourse, any footing of intimacy with Chinese officials, a Russian, though geographically placed at a great distance, contrives to open more or less confidential communications with Li Hung-Chang. Making use of an occasion when the Chinese tried to send machinery up the Amur river, and were stopped until they sued for, and obtained, the gracious permission of the St. Petersburg authorities, the Governor-General of Russian Manchuria, Baron Korff, found excuse for sending private messages, oral and written, to Li Hung-Chang, with little presents and so forth, by which means friendly relations, capable of becoming serviceable to one or both of the parties, were established. And it is the same with the Russian establishments at Vladivostok, and along the Chinese north-eastern frontier. All the officers there, from the Governor down, are on the most friendly, and in some cases, extremely confidential terms with the neighbouring Chinese ; the commanders of the frontier garrisons going the length of consulting the Russian colonel of Cossacks, Sobalawski, and of following his advice in technical matters connected with the

arms and ammunition of the Chinese troops! These good relations have the immediate advantage of allowing the Russian Government to avail itself extensively of Chinese labour in the construction of the trans-Siberian railway, and the future advantage of facilitating any movement which it may suit the Russian establishment in that quarter to make: in short, to confer advantages on Russia, which, under other conditions, she might have to pay dearly for, both in blood and iron.

If, therefore, Russia, the very nightmare of Chinese statesmen, and the only Power China has serious reason to dread, can be so well served by her officers as that they obtain personal ascendancy over the Chinese officials with whom they come in contact, it is at least a proof that there is nothing in the essential nature of the Chinese which bars amicable personal relations with foreigners.

From time to time the Chinese themselves are conscious of a leaning towards India, and Li Hung-Chang has even taken a slight initiative in inviting unofficial intercourse. The mission of Ma Taotai, some ten years ago, to acquire information respecting opium, and to sound the Indian Government on the subject of regulating the trade, was an overture for the exchange of courtesies, which might have been reciprocated had the Indian Government been so disposed; which, however, it was not. Again, when Mr. Colquhoun was leaving China to return to India, Li Hung-Chang talked much of this subject (the present writer assisting at the interview), and finally entrusted him with a personal message to Lord Dufferin, with an open invitation to send discreet officers from time to time to China, that the two countries might become better acquainted. Nothing came of this either, beyond the verbal acknowledgment of the compliment; and when an Indian official did, shortly after, make his appearance in China, it was with ill-timed fanfaronade, to negotiate for a passport for an expedition to Lhasa. The ineptitude of a whole official staff going to Peking on a mission which could have been better served at

the cost of a sheet of foolscap and an eight-anna postage stamp, was too much ; and well might the Chinese Viceroy turn away his head, and ask if *this* was the sort of man he wanted.

The clumsiness of the Tibetan scheme suddenly aroused the Peking Government to a sense of danger, and gave them time to send to Lhasa and prepare a hostile reception for the envoy, to whom, however, they could not refuse the official passport. And they have ever since been playing blind man's buff with the British and Indian Governments ; pretending to be dealing with a spontaneous local obstruction, when it was by their own secret orders that the aggression on Indian Sikkim was carried out. The absurd result of the imbroglio is, that the Chinese are now the slaves of their own unexpected success in holding back the Indian troops, and they dare not surrender the ground they have taken up, without some such pretext as a military defeat would have furnished. They are like an angler who has hooked a fish which he cannot land, but from which he can only be released by something breaking. The wisest among the Chinese would have welcomed all along, and would welcome now, any reverse, which would enable them to get out of the stale-mate *impasse*, which keeps the Indian and Chinese officials looking vacantly at each other.

The "mission," which went from Calcutta to Peking, to demand a passport, although of the blunderbuss order of diplomacy, nevertheless contained within it the elements of quite another kind of force. There was attached to the tail of the mission, in the capacity of interpreter, a certain Pandit of modest mien but of subtle intellect, who had already, by his own moral resources, penetrated twice into Tibet, and who, if allowed a free hand, would have gone there just as often as the Indian Government might have required ; and by working on the scientific principle of small beginnings, would have eventually established commercial relations on a solid basis, with the good-will of all parties. The Chinese do not disturb accomplished facts, for it is their traditional

wisdom, *quieta non movere*. This Pandit, while in Peking, managed to ingratiate himself with a class of people who are the most intractable towards foreign visitors—the Lama priests. Gaining entrance to their monasteries through his knowledge of Tibetan, he was soon able to exhibit such a mastery of Buddhistic lore, that he could expound the most abstruse points of the religion to these, its official professors. And he was welcomed as an honoured guest, in the monastery. There he obtained information which would have saved much expense and disappointment in India, had it not been ruled out of court in deference to grandiose schemes, already too far gone to be given up.

Nor was it the Buddhist Lamas only that the Pandit was able to interest. He was a born diplomat, who could find a way into every heart, as indeed the narrative of his two journeys to Tibet had already abundantly shown. This, we may be sure, was not the only one among the many millions in India capable of rendering high service to his Government; indeed, India must possess a perfect mine of wealth in the fine talent of the natives, for which a safer outlet might possibly be found in political life than on the judicial bench. The qualities in which the white Englishman is conspicuously deficient, shine conspicuously through the dark skin of his fellow-subject of the Queen; and while the defence of the frontier is placed in the hands of tried soldiers and strategists, the frontier diplomacy—which ought to include relations with China—might be well served by a contingent of natives, not too vexatiously interfered with by superiors on the look-out for *stars*.

We have, however, wandered far from the position of China as a military ally. The strength of China is a military question, not unmixed with a psychical one. The excellent raw material of armies strikes every observer; but every observer does not agree on the effective organized strength of the material. The capacity for organization, on modern principles, scarcely exists in China; and it is a question whether her defensive armament as well as her muscular

population be not sources of danger, rather than guarantees of security to the State. The new fleet, under native leadership, it is generally understood, must fall a prey to the first assailant, through laxity of discipline, and would consequently operate on an enemy as a stimulant to attack.

The military material, unorganized by the Chinese, might soon be organized by an invader, and turned, like a captured gun, on the defenders. As a military power, therefore, China would seem to be dangerous to her neighbours in the same sense as a bed of unworked coal is dangerous ; that is to say, the military substance of China, shaped and led by capable men of other races, may be a more formidable thing than even Lord Wolseley has ever contemplated.

A. MICHIE.

This admirable article must be read in conjunction with the Russian view, as, unconsciously, expressed by Mr. W. Barnes Steveni in his account of Colonel Grambcheffsky's explorations, which, whether purely scientific or not, have, as a matter of fact, led to the Russian occupation of the Pamirs. The Foreign Office would seem to be under a delusion, apparently due to personal considerations—the growth of years and perhaps too delicate for mention—as to the certainty of a Chinese alliance ; whilst it is no doubt to the interest of Russia to sow dissension or distrust between England and China, partly by talking of the civilizing Mission of Russia in Central Asia, with which Chinese cruelty is alleged to interfere. This talk is indulged in by the Power that persecutes Jews and non-“Greek-orthodox” sects as freely as it is by ourselves, who have allowed or enabled Afghans to subjugate or to practically destroy the independent tribes that prevented the approximation of the supposed Afghan and Chinese boundaries so as to form a continuous frontier with the Hindukush against a Russian invasion of India. The claims of Bokhara, endorsed, if not invented, by Russia, as those of Afghanistan are encouraged by us, are equally shadowy or of recent date ; but those of China are alike ancient and, so far as they go, real, even as regards Hunza, respecting which we seem to enforce the vague and ever-contested suzerainty of Kashmir. We trust that the Chinese Minister in London, whose remarkable memorial on foreign relations we quote in the next article, will be able to cement an alliance between this country and China, which, being based on commercial considerations, shall outlive the impending fluctuations of political party in England.

Since going to press we have received a small volume on “Missionaries in China,” published by E. Stanford, which we hope to review in our next issue. The author is Mr. Michie, than whom there is no better authority on the subject. He sympathises both with the missionary and the China aspects of the question, but he conclusively shows, that unless Missionary establishments are placed under the supervision of China officials, Missionaries will continue to be treated by a people “that is most tolerant to all religions, as intruders who, under the cloak of religion, introduce all sorts of hated foreign innovations and the interference of foreign power in their internal affairs.”

EDITOR.

## CHINA AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

WHEN the newly-sent Chinese Minister to London and Paris, His Excellency Sieh Ta-jen, had been there a short time, he addressed a Memorial to his Sovereign on the present state of China's foreign relations.

In the warm weather, he said, he could not go to Italy, because Rome is uninhabitable at that time of year, and the Court is out of town. He spent the hot months in studying the old documents he found in the Legation; and in the Memorial he wrote, and which has now been published in China, he describes the contrast between the politics of the days of Kwo Sungtau in 1877-1878, and of the present time. In November he intended to visit Rome, when the King and Minister of Foreign Affairs were at home. In the interval he made himself more thoroughly acquainted with the difference between the present and the past attitude of England and France towards China. Formerly they used their strength to make trouble; and when opportunity occurred through some change in events, they became more pressing and unreasonable. In those days foreign Ministers went to China; but the time was not come for China to send Ministers to the West. The Ministers of foreign States proceeded to various cities in China and watched the state of things. They used to be in the habit of exercising pressure and using force to compel China to grant privileges. They made treaties with other States to join them in exercising this pressure. If we, says the writer, gave them privileges, they showed little sign of gratitude. If we appealed to their sense of generosity, they did not at once respond. If we made treaties, with the hope of restraining them within limits, they could not be persuaded to hold to them in their entirety. So things went on for many years, Kwo Sungtau went to Europe in 1877, the first man of the rank of governor of a province, who had gone. He



was born on the banks of the Siang River, which flows into the Tungting Lake, and was a friend and neighbour of Tseng Kwofan, the first Marquis Tseng, and of his son the second Marquis, author of "China: Her Sleep and her Awakening."

Kwo Sungtau is severely rebuked in the memorial for his errors as a diplomatist. He is stated to have been too ready with schemes and too voluble in speech. Where China was free to act, he introduced needless limitations. What other States had a clear right to, he hesitated about granting. This is how the matter stood. The merchants of the Western kingdoms, says the memorialist, make wealth their aim, and regard great principles as of subordinate importance. Their ambassadors and consuls, aware that China had no Ministers in foreign countries to discuss matters in debate with the heads of the Foreign Department, took advantage of this state of affairs to put forward one-sided views, and pressed importunately for various privileges which appeared to them desirable. Now all this is changed. Intercourse is smoother. There is more friendliness. Designs injurious to China have ceased. Differences in many matters have been exchanged for harmony. The Minister then adds, that he has found, in interviews with high officials in England and France, and with the nobility, that the wish is sincere to be in good relations with China. They have ceased to think contemptuously of China.

For this change he sees four causes. 1. The Tung King war ended without France obtaining the indemnity she desired. The French are angry still with Jules Ferry for his failure. The Western kingdoms then learned for the first time that China would not listen to threats.

2. Chinese Ministers were sent to foreign countries, and by residing there, they learned to understand the affairs of foreign States and their habits of thinking. China by these new developments has greatly improved the relations between herself and foreign States, which is seen in the introduction of a previously unknown element of sympathy.

3. The Chinese navy and coast defences are an appreci-

able advance on the past, and give to China an increase of dignity before foreign nations.

4. To this should be added, that her pupils have done well at college examinations abroad. As a rule, they have stood high ; and it has become recognised that the Chinese intellect is not inferior to the European.

The memorialist then proceeds to say that the task of the Chinese is now easier than before. Let him meet each case as it arises, with coolness and wise deliberation. Four things he mentions as important : 1. To remove commercial obstructions and to foster the customs' revenue ; for if foreign trade suffer, the revenue must suffer also. 2. The maintenance of peace between the missions and the people : if there be disorder and riot among the Christian converts and their neighbours, the magistrates must exercise their authority. 3. Chinese emigrants ought to be protected, for the credit and good name of the Government. 4. There ought to be facilities for the distribution of Chinese home products as widely as possible, to increase the wealth of the producers. There is much call for the wise ingenuity of Chinese Statesmen in finding a way to remove all abuses as they arise.

At the end, the memorialist speaks just a word in reference to the audience question. Etiquette requires that the Ministers of foreign States should see the Sovereign. This is recognised in all foreign countries. If an audience is refused, it is not considered respectful. The newspapers of England and France speak of the matter in such a way that the privilege of audience is certain to be pressed for. It would be well that China should be ready with an answer to this request.

The comment of the Shanghai native editor on this document is very laudatory. He praises Sieh Ta-jen for his diplomatic wisdom, and for the kindly way in which he deals with the question of China's foreign relations in all its bearings. This might have been expected, for the tone of the native press is and has been rather favourable to the Govern-

ment. The policy of the statesmen of the present is the policy of the newspaper writers. They praise a statesman who maintains peaceful relations, and they praise Sieh Ta-jen because he is also in sympathy with the Government. There seems to be too much praise; but doubtless the minister is right in his opinion that China has improved her position by adopting international rules of mutual courtesy, and that she ought to carry out this policy as far as possible.

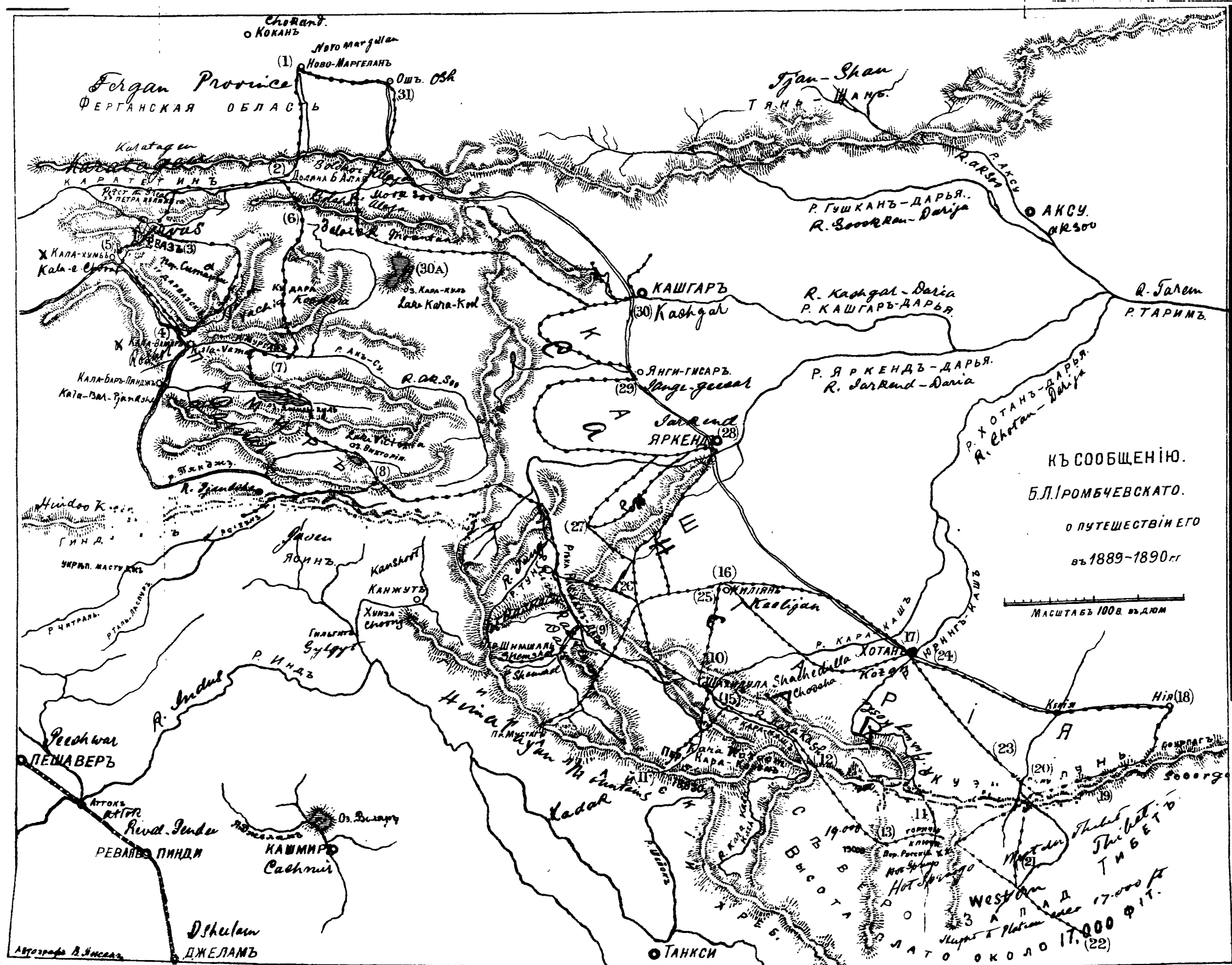
The native press in China has not yet developed a criticism unfavourable to the Government. In this respect the Chinese native press differs entirely from that of Japan and of India. It supplies interesting political news, it supports the Government policy, it acquires telegraphic information, and makes early announcements. It is moral in tone, Confucianist in teaching, and favourable to an increase of foreign intercourse. The writers of leading articles take pleasure to show the bearing of foreign events on Chinese relations, and reveal a natural aptitude for political writing. But no progress has yet been made in party politics. The efforts of the native press to obtain copies of documents not inserted in the Peking Gazette result in the public gaining such information on Government policy as this memorial contains. It is interesting, if only for the circumstance that the ever-active censorship decided that it should not go into the Gazette.

In the recent riot at Wuhu, the second port up the Yangtse River, the real cause of the burning and robbery was nothing but the old foolish stories against the Roman Catholics. Men dressed in silks were seen directing the mob. In a few hours several thousand pounds worth of property was destroyed, which the Government will of course pay for. Two days before the riot, the missionaries sent word of the intention to burn and rob, to the Taotai in charge, and by vigour the riot might have been prevented. Hence Sieh Ta-jen's policy is no doubt right.

A LOOKER-ON.



- (1) Margellon.
- (2) Valley of the Great Alayu.
- (3) Darvaz.
- (4) Kala Vamar.
- (5) Kala Choomb.
- (6) Zalaish Mountains.
- (7) Lake Yashell Kool.
- (8) Lake Victoria.
- (9) River Roskem Dariya.
- (10) Shachedulla Chodsha.
- (11) Kara-Koorum Pass.
- (12) Kara-Kash.
- (13) Russian Pass.
- (14) Hot Springs.
- (15) Shachedulla Chodsha.
- (16) Keeliyan.
- (17) Chotan.



- (18) Niya.
- (19) Soorgak Mines.
- (20) Pola.
- (21) (22) Thibetian Plateau.
- (23) Pola return-journey.
- (24) Chotan.
- (25) Keeliyan.
- (Chart in explanation of the travels of Capt. Grambscheffsky in 1889—1890.)
- (26) (27) Return-journey exploration.
- (28) Yarkend.
- (29) Yange Gessar (Yangi-Hissar.)
- (30) Kashgar.
- (30A) Lake Kara Kool.
- (31) Osh—termination.

The spelling is generally Russian.

## COLONEL GRAMBCHEFFSKY'S EXPEDITIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA, AND THE RECENT EVENTS ON THE PAMIRS.

YEAR by year the Western world takes a greater interest in the regions of Central Asia, especially in the district known as the Pamir Plateau, on the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush Mountains. It watches the gradual absorption into the Czar's dominions of the wild people of those parts, and awaits with expectancy,—and, it may be truly added, apprehension,—the time when the three great Powers who govern Asia will have common frontiers.

Russia is ceaselessly active on her south-eastern frontiers. She is ever extending them, and introducing her peculiar civilization into the newly-acquired provinces. Expedition after expedition is despatched to investigate the outlying districts, so that the Russian Government is now fairly familiar with the characteristics of the territory which lies between their south-eastern frontiers and Thibet and India.

I had the pleasure last winter of making the acquaintance in St. Petersburg of an explorer who has added much to the stock of knowledge possessed by the Russian Government in these regions ; and as the English public have only heard of him through the meagre telegrams of the foreign correspondents of the daily papers, I purpose in the present paper to give some account of his travels and adventures, compiled partly from his own lips and partly from a lecture delivered by him.

I allude to Colonel, — until recently, Captain, — Grambscheffsky ; who is now, — Preshevalsky being no more, — accounted as one of the most indomitable and indefatigable Russian explorers of Central Asia.

The Colonel comes of an old Polish aristocratic family, settled in the government of Kovno. Born in the year 1855, on the 15th day of January (old style), he is now in the prime

of life. Some idea of his personal appearance has been obtained from the portrait published in the last ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. The *beau idéal* of a sportsman—for he is renowned both as a sportsman and a traveller—he is a man of unusually fine physique, being big in proportion to his height, which is six feet two inches. His clear and healthy complexion is in marked contrast to the pale faces of those of his countrymen whom one meets in St. Petersburg. Nevertheless, he was far from well when I met him; and there were indications of his wonderful constitution having been seriously impaired by the intensity of the cold and the severity of the hardships which he has had to suffer. Attractive as he is at first sight, he is even more so on a closer acquaintance. While his face is remarkable for its genial and kindly expression, his manners have an easy grace peculiarly his own—a combination of the bearing of a rough and simple soldier and that polish for which the older aristocracy of Poland were so famous.

The burly soldier has fought and bled in the Russian service. Educated at Warsaw, at the Military Academy, he received, at the termination of his studies, an official appointment in the 3rd Division of the Imperial Bodyguard, stationed in that city. Despatched to Turkestan in 1876, he served in that province in the capacity of Adjutant to the Russian "Hotspur," Skobelev. Though, at the time, only 21 years of age, he took an active part in all the winter expeditions of that energetic soldier, being present at the storming of Makh-ran, and at other scenes of desperate fighting with the savage tribes of Turkestan.

After the man-stealing Turcomans had been brought under subjection, the Colonel was drafted to the frontier town of Marghilan, in the province of Fergistan. Here, for the lengthy period of sixteen years, he served as the Assistant Governor of the town, and also as Special Frontier Commissioner. His duties, in the latter capacity, consisted mainly in settling all disputes arising between the natives and the semi-civilized tribes outside the frontier, and in delineating the frontier line.

The years spent at Marghilan were not thrown away. The Colonel's passion for sport led him to investigate the neighbouring countries, and to study their languages. It was not long before he became familiar with Sart, Kirghiz, the various dialects of Kashghar,\* and Persian.

His first expedition took place in 1885. In this year he succeeded, though not without great difficulty, in reaching Khotan from his head quarters at Novo Marghilan. About this time, Cary, the British Salt Commissioner, also undertook an expedition into these regions on behalf of the Indian Government. The two travellers did not however meet. While Cary passed through Khotan from the south, Grambcheffsky was penetrating it from the west. A little while previously, Lieutenant-Colonel Preshevalsky had visited the same regions.

Grambcheffsky during this expedition acquired much valuable information concerning Khotan and its inhabitants. This he furnished to his Government, and took occasion at the same time to point out how Russian merchants might supply the natives with many articles of commerce at a lower price than that which English merchants were demanding. His hint did not pass unheeded. It has now come about that a considerable portion of the trade formerly monopolized by English merchants, in these and other regions of Central Asia, has passed into Russian hands. Alluding to this fact, a German newspaper wrote some time back as follows : " In a commercial sense, Russia holds the first place, after England, in the northern portions of Afghanistan; in a moral sense, her victory in that country is of much more serious import. The propagation of her prestige has proceeded apace. Towns in which Englishmen dare only make their appearance when attended by a strong convoy, are traversed by Russian commercial agents freely and without fear. Russian Jews and Sarts from Tashkend and Samarkand are the pioneers of the

\* Kashghar in Chinese Central Asia should not be confounded with Kashkar, or Chitrál, which is, at present, an ally of the Indian Government.



Russian Government in Afghanistan. It is not by might alone that Russia impresses the peoples of the East. Remembering the wise maxim of Skobeleff, she takes care to 'Smooth over, with love and attention, the sharp strokes of the sword'—a policy somewhat more effective than the wavering and partisan policy of the rulers of the British Empire."

"Russia," the article proceeds, "has long since extended her moral influence beyond the limits of the Neutral Afghan Zone. To many of the tribes of that region, wearied out by the tyranny of Abdul Rahman, she has long since appeared in the character of a Saviour and Deliverer."

In the year following that in which the Colonel undertook an expedition into Khotan, he visited the Nareena—the sources of the Sir-Daria. In 1887 he returned to St. Petersburg, having been absent 13 years, and spent eight months in the study of astronomy, geology, and other sciences at the Poolkova Observatory, and the Academy of Science. Then, fortified with the knowledge he thus gained, he started on an expedition for the Khanate of Kandshoot,\* on the northern slopes of the Hindoo Koosh, and explored, not only this district, but the surrounding countries, including Kaffiristan, "the country of the unbelievers," a province little known to European travellers.

The funds for this expedition were provided, so the Colonel informed me, partly by the Russian Geographical Society, partly by the Czarevitch, who has always evinced a lively interest in his investigations. The total amount this explorer received did not, however, exceed seven thousand roubles (=about £820), a fact which in itself should be a sufficient answer to the charge, to which I shall allude later on, that his mission was of a political character. As a matter of fact, his purse proved too slender for his means, and consequently he experienced many unnecessary inconveniences and hardships. Ultimately, as will be seen below, he ran short of funds, and was compelled to borrow from a friend in Kashghar the sum of four thousand roubles.

\* This is our "Hunza."—ED.

Considering how inadequate his outfit was, it is astonishing that the Colonel was able to accomplish so much. The detailed results of his travels he has given in a series of lectures, and in several books of travel. One of these works, for which the Russian Geographical Society granted him the sum of one thousand roubles and a silver medal, is considered by the Government of such importance that it is forbidden to be sold to the public. Only a hundred copies were printed of it, and these were distributed solely amongst the higher Government officials and generals of the staff.

Some idea of the explorer's labours will be obtained from the following account of his expedition in 1890, during which he and his companions nearly lost their lives, owing, as he asserts, to their inhospitable treatment at the hands of the Indian Government.

The following is a translation of the account of the Captain's last expedition, as given in his own words:—

“The late and cold autumn of 1889 delayed the usual thawing of the snow on the mountains. This was followed by great heat, which caused the snow to thaw in masses; the mountain streams overflowed, and bursting from their banks washed away the bridges, and in many places destroyed the roads. The advance of the expedition was therefore much hindered, for we were forced to repair the bridges and mend the roads. After emerging from the valley of the Bolshoi-Alaja (Alai), we moved towards the Trans-Alaisk mountain range, expecting to reach Shoognan through Koodara and the Pamir table-lands. The Trans-Alaisk mountains, however, turned out to be covered with snow, which had already become so porous that it would not bear the weight of our horses. Added to this, in every direction there rushed foaming mountain torrents, the crossing of which occasioned us great trouble. The thawing of the snow was accompanied by threatening avalanches of snow. We managed, however, to pass across the river Mooksoo with great danger; but we found it an utter impossibility to get across the Trans-Alaisk mountain range.

Having fatigued and injured our horses in this vain attempt, we were again compelled to return into the valley of the Alaja. The above-mentioned circumstance forced me to turn to the west and march to Shoognan by a circuitous route, *viâ* Karategin, Vachija [Wakhan?], and Darvaz, provinces of Eastern Bokhara.

The Khanate or Bekstvo of Karategin constitutes a continuation of the valley of the Alaja, and lies on both sides of the river Soorkh Obi (Red River). The inhabitants here are partly Khirgize and partly Tadsheks. The only representatives of the fauna of Karategin which we saw, were wolves, foxes, martens, marmots, and hares; of edible birds (game), the stone grouse. Bearded eagles were, however, exceedingly numerous. The natives had many tales to tell of the amazing sagacity and cunning of these birds. They related, for instance, that these birds will, on perceiving a herd of horses, drive it to the edge of a precipice, and then, with blows from their enormous wings, scare the young foals so that they tumble over and pitch headlong into the depths below, and thus become their prey. They also related that the eagles are invariably fond of marrow, and that, in order to free this delicacy from the bone, they will rise with the bone up to an immense height and let it drop. The bone is of course broken into bits, and the delicacy can then be devoured with ease.

Leaving Kargeena, we traversed the pass of Gardanee-Kaftar, situated on the ridge of Peter-the-Great, and thus reached Vachia, a small Khanate, situated on either side of the river Ching-Obi, *i.e.*, the "Muddy River." Among the ridges of the "Peter-the-Great" mountain range, we met with wild goats, grazing in wonderful meadows of Alpine vegetation, also with an extraordinary number of marmots.

The mountain sides here are clothed with rich pasture grass, which attracts large numbers of the migratory population, even so far as from Central Bokhara; and we came across one or two small lakes in the mountains, rich in aquatic birds, especially in the red ducks of the Pamir.

The Khanate (Bekstvo) of Vachia is inhabited solely by Tadsheks. These are a people of Aryan origin. They are tall, and have a dark and very hairy skin and handsome and regular features. That the population is poor may be ascribed mainly to their laziness, as, in contrast with other parts of Central Asia, we saw large tracts of land in Vachia entirely neglected, which in every respect were suitable for cultivation. During our journey forward we passed through villages literally hidden in a verdure of rich gardens. Here were found growing in abundance, walnuts, apples, plums, cherries, etc. The only cereals that were cultivated were wheat, barley, beans, and flax. The last mentioned plant was sown solely for the sake of the oil extracted from it. Its fibres were used as fuel; for the manufacture of yarn is unknown in this region, as indeed it is all through Central Asia.

From Vachia we journeyed on through the Gooshon Pass in the Darvas range to Darvas, and on the 7th July entered Kala-i-Kumb, the capital of Darvas. The name Darvas is probably derived from the word "Darvása," that is, "a gate," as the river Pandsha, breaking through the mountain range in this place, runs in a narrow gulley, not unlike a large gate in appearance. Local tradition, however, pretends that the derivation of the name is to be found in the word "Dar-baz," *i.e.*, tight-rope dance, and connects with it the following legend: "Under the Prophet Mahomet, the conquest of Darvas was committed to his brother-in-law Ali; but the inhabitants offered such a heroic resistance to the Arabian forces, that it proved impossible for Ali to take the country openly. Thereupon, he decided to employ stratagem, and for this purpose disguised himself as a rope-dancer, and came to the capital of Darvas. The people of Central Asia are still passionately fond of tight-rope dancing, and in order to witness an entertainment of this kind will collect from the most distant villages. It was on an occasion like this, whilst the whole of the inhabitants were collected within the walls of the town, and their attention engrossed with

this amusement, that they failed to observe how the Arab forces were gradually approaching the gates. Ali, perched above on the tight rope, was, however, able to observe every movement of the Arabs ; and at the proper moment he gave the signal. Then, pretending to be tired, he descended to the ground, and at the very moment when the ruler of the country was in the act of presenting him with a gift, he drew a small dagger from the folds of his dress and killed him. The Arabs had by this time forced an entrance into the town, and found it an easy task to slaughter the people and possess themselves of the country, which, in memory of the means by which its subjugation was effected, has been called by the Arabs, Darvas."

Darvas, as well as Karategen and Vachia, has been held by Bokhara for no longer a period than thirteen years. This country is situated on either side of the river Pandsha, whose course flows through a narrow gully, in some places not more than 100 to 120 fathoms wide. Every available scrap of land is ploughed and cultivated. The houses are not unlike those of the Little Russian peasantry;\* but are whitewashed with a particular preparation of alabaster, which gives them a glazed appearance. The vegetation of the country is quite amazing ; notwithstanding the great elevation of the land, grape-vines, pomegranates, and fig-trees are never covered in winter or summer; nevertheless they attain gigantic dimensions. Grapes are also to be found in a wild state in the mountains. Peach, apricot, apple, pear, plum, and walnut trees grow in plenty, also mulberry trees, which are extensively cultivated, not on account of the silk culture, but for their fruit, as the berries ripen early and keep the whole summer. The people avoid giving the mulberry plant too much water, to avoid making the berry watery and tasteless. The mulberry, together with the peach and the apricot, forms a staple article of consumption with the people, who dry the fruit for winter use, grind it to powder, and then mix it with wheat for baking purposes.

\* The whitewashed thatched cottages of the Little Russians are almost exactly like those to be found in our own country.

The inhabitants of Darvas are called Tadsheks. They are pure Aryans and of exceptional beauty. The women are especially lovely, with their pale delicate faces, remarkably regular features, and wonderful eyes. The inhabitants are Mahomedans of the Sunnite and Shiah sect, much devoted to their former rulers and hostilely inclined towards Bokhara. The women, on meeting a man, do not cover their faces, though they concealed themselves from us strangers. It is to be regretted that the impression of the idyllic beauty of the women of Darvas is quite annihilated by their incredible dirtiness: they do not wash their linen, but wear it until it falls in rags off their shoulders. It is quite natural that, living under such conditions, they swarm with vermin. Vice and dirt breed amongst them a variety of deadly diseases, prominent among which are venereal disorders and affections of the skin and eye. The latter complaints are aggravated by the intense heat and the perpetual dust. During our stay at Kala-i-Kumb, the heat, even at 9 p.m. in the evening, remained at 30° to 31° Celsius (88° Fahrenheit). The dust is raised from the sandy shoals of the river Pandsha. As the villages of Darvas are situated on either side of the banks of the river Pandsha, the current of which is too strong to permit its being crossed in boats, the natives use the inflated skins of goats, sheep, and horses in crossing. These skins are expanded with air. The swimmer, on crossing, grips the skin firmly between his knees, and whilst the left hand is employed to choke up the opening through which the skin has been inflated, the right is used as a rudder. In this manner the swimmer crosses the river. This kind of navigation is, however, fraught with considerable danger, and is only possible among the aborigines, accustomed as these are from childhood to look upon the water as their native element. Heavy articles are transported in the same manner, the skins for this purpose being tied together to the number of twenty, and then overlaid with boards so as to form a raft. A raft of this description is capable of bearing about a ton in weight, and can be

steered by four persons. During the winter months, the water in the river is low enough to admit of its being crossed in the rough boats of Bokhara, called *kaiques*.

The equipment of the expedition for our further journey detained us in Kala-i-Kumb for five whole days. Then we received the first news of the state of affairs in Northern Afghanistan; viz., that the Emir, Abdurahman-Khan, had managed to conquer the provinces of Char-Velâet and Badachman,\* and that the Afghan troops were moving towards Shoognan. Fearing that the military operations would interfere with my progress through Shoognan and the Hindoo-Koosh, I entered into correspondence with the ruler of Shoognan, Said Akbar Shah, and quickly pressed in the direction of the upper portion of the River Pandsha. The way lies along the right bank of the river, and is often nothing more than a cutting through the rocks, or a narrow bridge, terminating on one side in a precipice. In some places these ledges are so narrow that we were often compelled to take the packages from the backs of our horses, and carry them ourselves; and even when the animals were unsaddled, we led them with trouble by a halter round their necks and bodies. A fall of rocks, near the boundary of Roshan, had blocked the road for a distance of several miles. It was found impossible to clear it, and we were consequently obliged to pass through the very difficult pass named Akba-e-Oozbay. About the 20th July, we neared the frontiers of Roshan, where we were met by an emissary from Said Akbar Shah, with a letter, in which the ruler of Shoognan informed us that the Afghans had taken possession of half of his country, but that we should nevertheless be his welcome guests. At the same time, Said Akbar Shah warned me that all the roads were occupied by Afghan troops, and that, if I were determined to proceed to the Hindoo-Koosh, it would be necessary for me to obtain the consent of the leader of the Afghan forces. To this end, I immediately wrote a letter

\* Badakhshan?

to the commander of the Afghan armies, Shah-Said-Dsharneilj,\* and despatched it with Maston, an Afghan officer whom I had freed from slavery among the Khirgise of the Trans-Alaïsk Mountain Range. This man had been marching in our company for a month and a half, and was therefore convinced of the purely peaceable intentions of our expedition, and its scientific purposes. He could thus, if necessary, bear testimony to this effect to the Afghan commander.

We soon received a reply from Shah-Said-Dsharneilj, by which we were informed that our party could not be permitted to proceed into the interior, without permission from the Emir, and requested to retire from the frontiers of Afghanistan. Together with this letter, the Afghan commander despatched a large detachment of cavalry to observe our movements. These took up a position on the left bank of the river Pandsha, exactly opposite our encampment. We were only separated by the river, which in this particular spot is about 80 to 100 sash-janes (560 to 700 feet) wide. Knowing that the Afghan army was excited by war, and fearing an unexpected attack, I decided to avoid this risk, and retreated into the valley of the river Vanch. Here I learned that the ruler of Shoognan had shut himself up in Kala-i-Vamar, the capital of Roshan, and was prepared to make a desperate stand in that city, being surrounded by Afghan troops. There being no road from the valley of the Vanch to Pamir, I was compelled to force myself through the difficult pass of Silaje,† and once more cross the Darvas mountain chain, and thus return to Vachia. This particular pass is covered on either slope by glaciers, the western one being six miles in length. It was not only difficult to make progress over the glacier, but even dangerous, for its surface was broken by innumerable deep fissures, over which we were compelled to construct bridges of planks, and lead our horses across. In concluding my description of Eastern Bochara, I may add that the

\* Corruption for "General."

† See n.ap.



population are Tadshek, and that their occupation mainly consists of agriculture. The richest iron mines at the source of the river Vanch also provide the natives with a good livelihood, and every house contains a furnace for smelting iron ore. Vanch iron is so well known that it has a good market, not only in Eastern Bokhara, but in Baduchan \* and the Khanates of Pamir. Besides this, the population of Vanch are passionately fond of hunting; the game being the mountain goat, which is numerous represented in the mountains; and for this sport a special breed of coursing dogs is kept.

Shortly after the expedition had left Vachia, I received a letter by special messenger from Shah-Said Dsharneilj, informing me that he had forwarded my letter to the Emir, and would inform me of the result. This fact made me decide to proceed through Karategin and Koodara to Pamir, and then await the reply on the boundaries of Afghanistan. On the road to Koodara, we visited one of the trysting places of the famous Pamir robber-chieftain, Sahib Nazar. The fame of the robber-chieftain and his wonderful life are known for hundreds of miles around, and I expected to meet with a fierce warrior. When he came into our camp, surrounded by his sons and suite, I was exceedingly surprised to find him to be a very sickly and insignificant old man.

There are innumerable legends about him. Almost all the passes of the Pamir are connected with his name in some way or other. Thus, for instance, in Lesser Pamir, there is the "Saudegir Tem," *i.e.*, the "traders' mountain," where Sahib Nazar was wont to conceal himself and his band, and rob the caravans proceeding from Baduchan \* to Kashgar. Having learnt one day that a rich caravan was proceeding along this road, under the convoy of forty-six fully-armed traders, he concealed his men in a recess, and himself, dressed as a poor, broken-down native, set out to meet the caravan. Sahib Nazar then made friends with the chief of the caravan, and soon, by small services, wound himself into this man's

\* Badakhshán?

heart to such an extent, that he was allowed to graze his horses. On reaching the spot where his men were concealed, the robber chieftain drove away the horses during the night, summoned his men, and massacred the convoy, thus possessing himself of the goods with which the caravan was laden. A fair idea of his daring may be formed from the fact, that, shortly after Russia took possession of the province of Fergistan, he swooped down into the valley of the great Alai, and drove away a thousand horses from the new subjects of the Czar. After making my acquaintance, Sahib Nazar commenced to talk, and personally related many episodes from his wonderful life. He closed his account with an exceedingly characteristic anecdote, complaining that his field of operations was now much circumscribed owing to his neighbours being powerful kingdoms, such as Russia, China, and Afghanistan; that there was now no more scope for adventure; that the world was too small for him. He also remarked that he had spent all his life in robberies and depredations; but being desirous, in his old age, of making his peace with "God and man," he had dispersed his band, and that, having called his sons together, he had commanded them, under penalty of forfeiting his blessing, to desist from robbing any more!! For the space of three years he had lived in a peaceful and God-fearing manner; but nevertheless, all depredations committed, no matter how far away they may have been from where he was, were invariably attributed to him. His neighbours concluded that his repentance was nothing more than weakness, and endeavoured to revenge themselves for what they had suffered at his hands in former years. One of his sons Hudai Nadir, was captured by the Khirgize in the valley of the Alai, but, fortunately for him, he was not recognised as the son of the Sahib Nazar. He was, however, suspected of being connected with him; and having bound him, his captors resolved to carry him before the local authorities. The youth, knowing well enough that, once before these functionaries, he would immediately be recognised, and that

his fate would not be an enviable one, availed himself of a suitable opportunity, and striking with his sword one of the Khirgize who escorted him, and whose horse was the best of the lot, sprang on the steed, and was soon hidden from sight. This incident particularly exasperated the old gentleman; and he called his sons together once more, gave them his blessing, and commenced the old life of adventure once more. Sahib Nazar, personally, treated us with great kindness, furnishing us with money, with guides, and provisions. Having made presents to the robber chieftain, we parted as friends, and we gathered amongst other information, that Kala-e-Vama was already taken by the Afghans, and that Said Akbar Shah had fled into the boundaries of Bokhara, and that the Afghans were committing untold atrocities in the conquered provinces.

The population of Shoognan, numbering some 2000 families, had fled to Pamir, hoping to find a refuge in the Russian provinces. The local Chinese authorities at Pamir detained the refugees under a variety of pretexts, and on the arrival of the Chinese frontier guard, the refugees were cruelly driven back to Shoognan, where the Afghans, apprised of their arrival, treated them with unparalleled brutality.\* After leaving Sahib Nazar, we descended into the valley of the Murg-Obi river, and for three days we were constantly meeting with dense crowds of refugees from Shoognan, trying to make their escape into the frontiers of Russia from the fury of the Afghans. Sick and wounded stragglers brought up the rear of these companies; and the pictures of misery which presented themselves to our eyes were such as are only possible in Asia, where a ruler, having possessed himself of the territory of another, considers himself justified in destroying the entire population. We did all we could to alleviate their sufferings, binding the wounds of the wounded, and sharing our rations with them; but this

\* A vivid idea of the state of affairs in Central Asia. Both Russia and England are in comparison to China benefactors of the poor and angels of mercy. May they continue to work side by side!

could only be as a drop of water to the sea. On descending into Pamir, we found ourselves between the cordons of the Chinese and Afghan armies; and it was with great difficulty, and at the expense of much diplomacy, that we avoided coming into conflict with either of them. The Khirgise of the place refused to have any dealings with us, and we were compelled to rely on our fortune and skill in hunting for food. To add to our difficulties, winter was approaching. The whole region around was covered with snow, and it became difficult to procure fuel from under the snow. Added to this, life in the tents was becoming more burdensome with the thermometer at  $-20^{\circ}$  Cels. ( $-20^{\circ}$  Cels. =  $-16^{\circ}$  Réaum., or  $= -4^{\circ}$  Fahr.)  $= 4^{\circ}$  below zero. ( $1^{\circ}$  Cels. =  $\frac{9}{5}^{\circ}$  Fahr.)

Under such unfavourable conditions as these we spent on the Pamir, constantly moving from place to place, almost two months; viz., August and September. At last, on the 1st October, I received a reply from Abdurahman Khan, in which he categorically refused to permit the expedition to enter Kafiristan.

Seeing that there was nothing more to be done, I proceeded to carry out the second plan of instructions given me by the Geographical Society, and descended into the basin of the river Raskeem-Daria. To conclude with the Pamir, I may add that this table-land extends from the Trans-Alai chain of mountains to the Hindoo-Koosh, at a mean elevation of 12 to 13 thousand feet. The Amoo-Daria pursues its course in this table-land. This river and its principal tributaries drain four valleys, the bottoms of which are covered with good herbage, which provides pasturage for numerous herds of wild sheep (*Ovis Poli*).

In these regions we meet bears, Kaftans (or Asiatic panthers), wolves, wild goats, foxes, weasels, etc.; and on the lakes we saw enormous flocks of ducks, geese, and other water-fowl. Fish was also exceedingly plentiful; for instance, the Lake Bulöu-Kool yielded at one draw with a small net over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  poods (90 lbs.) of very delicious fish.

Trees were conspicuous by their absence. The only place where there was any forest growth was along the Murg-Obi river. I term the whole of the table-land "Pamir," in view of the resemblance of the valleys to each other. The natives, however, only apply the name to the valley of the great lake of Pamyra, and the river of the same name. Other parts of the neighbourhood are known under different names; thus the lake of Yashil-Kool, the valley of the river Alechoor, the valley of the Ak-Loo, etc. The most imposing is the lake of Yashil-Kool, which is over thirty versts (20 miles) in length, with an average width of five to six versts. Numerous legends are connected with this lake, in which the fertile imagination of the nomad strives to express its admiration and explain the magnificence of the surrounding scenery.

The Pamir is far from being a wilderness. It contains a permanent population residing in it both summer and winter. The inhabitants are by no means numerous; but this is because the natural conditions of life hinder their increase. The Nomad of Central Asia would not be so hard to please as not to become thoroughly accustomed to the surroundings of life on the Pamir. Having pasturage for his cattle, he would become reconciled to these conditions, were not the natural growth of the population retarded, until quite recently, by the continual raids of the semi-civilized independent tribes of the neighbouring Khanates. The conditions of life have now changed, and the population is increasing to a marked extent. But notwithstanding the proximity of Russia and the comparative civilization of China, slavery on the Pamir is flourishing; moreover, the principal contingents of slaves are obtained from Chatrar, Jasen, and Kanshoot, Khanates under the protectorate of England.

We found the Raskeen mountain range obstructed with snow, and we therefore had to transport our luggage on the backs of Yaks. After descending into the rich forest in the basin of the river Raskeen Daria, we warmed ourselves

and got rid of the oppressive feeling attending continual danger. In our camp there again were heard the merry Cossack melodies, not sung for so long a time. On one of the branches of the Raskeen Daria; viz., at the rivulet Elee-Soo, we found a natural vapour bath, in the shape of hot springs, the temperature of which reached as much as 47° Cels. (117° Fahr.).

We spent October and November in investigating the basin of the Raskeen Daria, and during the space of fifty-five days only twice came across human beings; viz., with the British expedition under the command of Captain Younghusband and a robber band of Kanshootis, these latter being on their way to plunder on the great caravan road between Jarkand and Cashmere. Captain Young-husband was going from India to Kanshoot.\* This young man earned for himself a name by his bold journey on horseback from Peking to Cashmere through the whole of China. He was accompanied by a small convoy of Bengal soldiers, pundits, and numerous servants.† We met on the most friendly of terms, and as my expedition had bivouacked earlier than Captain Younghusband's, the captain thus became my guest and remained so for the space of almost three days. The expeditions together presented the interesting spectacle of an assembly comprising twenty different nationalities. Our meeting with the robber band of Kanshootis took place at the sources of the river Saltor, a branch of the Raskeen. In order to husband as much as possible the strength of the men and horses, I made it a practice to leave all the heavy baggage belonging to the expedition on the main road, and to perform all flank excursions with one

\* Russians in Central Asia. (Reuter's Telegram.) Simla, September 21st, 1891. The news of the exclusion of Captain Younghusband from Little Pamir by the Russian authorities is confirmed. The Russians, it is further announced, claim supremacy over the Little Pamir and the Alichur Valley.

† Russian officers and soldiers, who have come in contact with our Indian officers, always express surprise at the immense number of servants and articles of luxury attending our military expeditions, a practice which is unknown in the Russian army.

or two followers only. On one of these occasions, when I was only accompanied by a Cossack,\* of the name of Matiojeff, I, one evening, unexpectedly came across some fires. As we had not come across a single human being during the space of forty days, the apparition of these fires could not do otherwise than alarm me. I immediately dismounted, and hiding in the underwood, went as near as possible to the encampment of the unknown people, in whom I recognised a band of Kanshoots, numbering about 80 men, who were evidently bent on some pillaging excursion. Being well acquainted with their morals, I did not account it wise to appear before them alone, and having waited until it had become complete twilight, we reversed the shoes of our horses and then led them as carefully as possible along the stony bed of the river, hastening back to the expedition, from which we were about sixty miles distant. After two days had elapsed, the band approached near our encampment, and having caught sight of the expedition sent out their messenger for a parley. We then made it known to the band, that, notwithstanding my friendship for the ruler of their country, my dignity as a servant of the "Great White Czar" could not permit any one to be plundered in my presence. Therefore, notwithstanding that I was convinced that the band had no hostile intentions against the expedition, I firmly demanded, not only that the band should return home, but that its re-appearance within rifle-shot of our expedition would be considered as an opening of hostilities against us. The Kanshoots, having once more sent an envoy with a declaration of loyalty and good-will, turned back. Later on, I heard that my firmness had saved a party of Khirgise, who were returning with the money they had earned for transporting baggage in the expedition belonging to Captain Younghusband. The basin of the Raskeen Daria was investigated by us for a distance of over 1250 versts (about 830 miles). The basin of this river is perfectly adapted for cultivation and bears many traces of it in the form of ruins of villages, tanks, canals,

\* These Cossacks are from Turkestan, *i.e.* Tartar Cossacks.

etc. In one spot in this wilderness an immense abandoned burying-ground gave us an unusually melancholy impression. Every pathway, every projection of the rocks here was covered with ruined fortifications. It was apparent that man had fought to the last extremity ; that not wishing to abandon the places he had settled in, he had given way only to force. The basin of the river has been turned into a desert by the systematic raids of the Kanshoots ; but when this occurred, it is difficult to find out, as the dry climate of the country assists in the preservation of the traces of culture. Thus the place looks as if man had only abandoned it yesterday, whereas the most minute inquiries have shown that the Raskeen was already empty within the memory of the parents of the present generation. The hills surrounding the Raskeen are entirely uninhabited, in consequence of the unusually small quantity of rain which falls on them. Vegetation is only possible at the bottom of the valleys, which are the only places capable of being artificially watered. Besides, these shallows are covered with dense growths of mountain topal, willows, gigantic bushes of brambles, tamarisks, wild rose, etc., all of which, being interlaced with climbing plants, form so dense a thicket that we had to use our axes to cut a way through them. Among the animals we met with in the basin of this river may be mentioned the wild sheep (papia), red goats, antelopes, whole flocks of wild asses, Asiatic panthers, wolves, foxes, martens, mountain partridges, various species of ducks, and many kinds of birds, many of which we killed.

Towards the latter portion of November the frost almost the whole time remained at an average of  $-24^{\circ}$  or  $-27^{\circ}$  Celsius. Both shores of the river Raskeen were covered with a thick layer of ice, whilst the middle of the river remained open. In consequence of this, the crossing of the river was an exceedingly dangerous affair.

On the 25th of November we reached the newly-erected Cashmirean fortress of Shachedulla-Chodsha, situated at a height of about 12,500 feet above the level of the sea.



Seeing the utter impossibility of passing through this wilderness of Thibet in the winter months, I addressed a letter to Colonel Nisbet, the British Resident in Cashmire, requesting him to permit the expedition to winter there. I also at the same time commenced, without delay, to collect provisions. In the vicinity of the fortress we met twenty families (tents) of Khirgize, who were occupied in the conveyance of caravans through the Himalayan mountain range into Cashmire. I turned to them for provisions, but they not having any to spare, we were obliged to send men into Cashgar in order to purchase all we required. Taking advantage of the time that elapsed until the stores were forthcoming, I left the expedition at Shachedulla Chodsha, and, accompanied by two guides, set out myself for the Kara Kooroom pass, which is 18,500 feet above the level of the sea. In this high plateau we met with exceedingly inhospitable weather. The frost registered was  $-35^{\circ}$  Celsius ( $31^{\circ}$  below zero, Fahrenheit)! and was accompanied by severe winds, which compelled us to return when halfway on our journey from Kara Kooroom. On this journey we came across literally a valley of death. Here were lying about the bodies of horses, and scattered around bales of goods. There were, however, no traces of human beings. It turned out that a caravan of the Cashmire merchant Chalik-Baja had been overtaken by the cold. Having lost their horses, the men threw away their burdens and fled to Shachedulla Chodsha.

On the 14th September the stores arrived, and rumours reached us that Colonel Nisbet had made arrangements not to permit the expedition to enter into the frontier of Cashmire. I thereupon decided to go in the contrary direction of the river Kara-Kosh, and thus mount the plateau of Thibet, endeavouring in this manner to traverse it and thus reach the inhabited portions of Thibet. After having examined the deposit of nephrite described by Schlagentweit, situated on the road in the vicinity of Shachedulla Chodsha, small in comparison to the quantity I had seen a year previously

on the shores of the river Raskeen-Daria, we, on the 26th of December, bade farewell to the surrounding mountains—the last whose crests were covered with vegetation,—and, after leaving the bed of the river Kara-Kosh, mounted the plateau of Thibet, the average height of which in this spot was about 17,000 feet. This portion of South-west Thibet is a wilderness in the full sense of the word. The country around is undulated and intersected in every possible direction by low, gentle, hilly ridges, deep cavities, and in them there are more or less deep lakes. The soil is salty and sandy; vegetation, with the exception of the roots of the Terskin plant and scanty patches of yellowish coarse grass, does not exist. Moreover, only the above-mentioned growth is found in those hollows and cavities in which flow water originating from the scanty rain or the thawing of the mountain snows. Notwithstanding that the region offered such a scarcity of flora, we came across small droves of wild sheep, red goats, and a distinct species of yak. On the track of these animals wolves followed. As regards bipeds, the only birds we came across were crows. The frost kept at  $-33^{\circ}$  to  $-35^{\circ}$  Celsius ( $31^{\circ}$  below zero, Fahrenheit), and was accompanied with severe winds, which changed into a hurricane at mid-way. It was so cold that the tears, caused by the wind, had not time to flow down the cheeks. They were frozen on the eyelashes. Snow there was none. The springs were all frozen. We managed to obtain water for making tea by melting ice, whilst our poor quadrupeds remained without drink. During these terrible days of privation the expedition reached the utmost limits of physical endurance. From the information I had gathered, I knew that on our road, in the basin of the Yurung Kosh, we should come across some hot springs; but days passed, whilst we travelled from dawn until late at night, without reaching these springs. After three days of marching on the Thibetian plateau, we reached the mountain chain dividing the river Yurung Kosh from the basin of the river Kara Kosh. Having discovered a passage across this range at a height

of 19,000 feet, as soon as it was day-break we pushed on farther. The horses were enfeebled from thirst. I felt that our end was approaching. Nevertheless, we were obliged to push forward, no matter what happened. If I turned back without obtaining water, neither horses nor men would be capable of performing another passage through this wilderness. Until the 29th December, 1889 (o.s.) we proceeded without stopping, and only at one o'clock at night we managed to reach the hot springs; having, in the meantime, lost one-third of our horses, and having abandoned in the desert a portion of our baggage. The water we procured from the springs turned out to have such a loathsome taste that it was drunk even by the horses with aversion. On the following day the dropping down of the horses continued. To add to our misfortunes, a snow-storm commenced to rage. The wilderness was covered with a thick carpet of snow. Our guide refused to conduct us. Having rested several days at the hot springs, I determined to go back. As it was impossible for us any longer to lift our baggage, we were compelled to pick out from it all those things which were absolutely necessary, and make them up into separate bundles, which we covered with felt and fallen stones, in order to save them from the wind and the curiosity of the wild animals of the country. All the articles of less importance we threw away. All that I took with me consisted of my diary, photographic plates, instruments, guns, and an insignificant sum of money that still remained to me.

On the 31st December we started on our return journey, and pitched our quarters for the night at an elevation of 18,000 feet, at the entrance to the pass we had lately come through, to which I gave the name "Russian." The snow-storm and the hurricane roared about us with incredible fury. We all gathered together in the sole remaining tent that was entire, one which had been presented to me prior to my departure from St. Petersburg by His Imperial Highness, the Grand Duke Dmitry Constantinovitch, and did our best to warm ourselves by our own breathing. Our Cossack

orderly became afflicted with hallucinations. I do not know what my fellow-travellers felt, but it seemed to me that we were freezing to death, and that there was no hope of saving the expedition. Knowing from long experience that in the mountains the most violent snowstorms leave off before the dawn, we, exactly at midnight, after collecting our last strength, dragged ourselves to the pass, to the summit of which there remained about twelve versts (nine miles) to traverse. It commenced to be light at seven o'clock in the morning; consequently, by moving at the rate of two versts an hour, we might reach the highest point of the pass at the time of sunrise. For once fortune befriended us. As we ascended the inclined plane of the pass the snow-storm became more quiet, and when we reached the top, it was almost a complete calm. Having clambered up to the top of the pass, I awaited all my companions, and having let them go on before, followed. Almost all of us had our extremities frost-bitten.

We had only just commenced to descend the pass when the snow-storm began to rage with increased strength; but it did not any longer present to us its former danger, as we were partially sheltered by the surrounding hills.

On the 4th January, after passing eleven days at an altitude of not less than 17,000 feet, we again approached the bed of the river Kara Kosh, that is to say, the place which we had left on the 26th December. Immediately after this I entered into communication with the Khirgize, wandering about Shachedulla-Chodsha, who, after receiving us in the most friendly manner and supplying us with tents and provisions, set out with five camels to fetch the things we had thrown away in the desert. The Khirgize brought with them a Cashmirean officer, who gave me three letters from the British resident in Cashmire, Colonel Nisbet. These letters were all of the same tenor, and had been sent to me by different roads. They contained the refusal of the East Indian Government to permit a Russian expedition to enter the confines of Cashmire. The Cashmireans confirmed the

knowledge we were already in possession of, viz., that the entrances into Cashmire had already been occupied by Cashmirean troops.

As the expedition was completely disorganized, we again returned to Shachedulla-Chodsha. Thence through the Kiljan Pass we entered into the kingdom of Kashgar, where, after eight months' camping out in tents, we quartered ourselves for the first time under a roof. Out of the thirty-six horses with which I had left Shachedulla-Chodsha in the middle of September, I brought back with me to Keljan only eight, and even these were of no use for further journeying. The equipment of the expedition had partly been thrown away and partly rendered entirely useless. Our money was all spent, and we were in such straits that we should even have been satisfied if we could only have succeeded in reaching Margellan in safety. From this difficult position we were extricated by the Secretary of the Russian Consul in Cashgar, who, notwithstanding that he did not know whether I should ever be in a position to repay him, sent me as a loan Rbs. 4,000 (£464). This money permitted us again to equip ourselves and set out for further work. I determined that, as we had come to grief in entering Thibet from the west, we would endeavour to enter it from the north. In the middle of February we proceeded further eastwards along the northern declivity of the Kooen-Loon mountains. Whilst amidst the heights of Khotan I learned that the expedition of Colonel Pjevztzoff was wintering in the oasis of Nija, and that one of the members belonging to this expedition was to be found in Khotan. I of course hastened to Khotan, where I was heartily received by the mining engineer, Bogdanovitch, the Geologist of the expedition. As my instruments had received serious damage, I set out for Nija (see map, "No. 18") in order to verify them, and also chiefly to verify my astronomical observations by those of Colonel Pjevztzoff.

On the 7th of March I arrived at Nija, where I was met with real heartiness and hospitality by the members of the

Thibet expedition. Among my dear fellow-workers I passed a whole week, and thanks to the touching attention of all the members of the expedition, was able to rest myself both in soul and in body. Colonel Pjevtzoff personally corrected my instruments and entered the corrections in the journals of the expedition.

On the 15th of March, after having bid farewell to Colonel Pjevtzoff and his followers, I marched south to the gold washings of Söoorgak. Notwithstanding the early time of the year, the washings were occupied with crowds of people. Most of the gold in these regions is found in the old dried-up beds of the rivulets of rivers, or by sinking shafts in the gold-bearing sands, sometimes to a depth of 60 arsheens\* (140 ft.).

From Söoorgak (see "No. 19" in map) I set out for Poloo along the hills of Tokoos Davan, where Nicholai M. Preshevalsky, of never-to-be-forgotten memory, had been before me. The inhabitants of Poloo met us with exceeding joy, and bore with them a long way in front of the village a photograph of His Majesty the Czar and the Imperial family, which had been presented to them by the late Colonel Preshevalsky. I was much touched at this meeting; and there at once sprung up the most friendly relations between the expedition and the inhabitants, which neither the enmity of the Chinese authorities in Kerija, nor the strictest orders directed against the expedition, could shake.† Easter we spent at Poloo, in the greatest possible festivity; and at the same time a great holiday was arranged for the inhabitants.

On the second day of Easter, having left my baggage at

\* 1 Arsheen =  $2\frac{1}{3}$  feet English. (?)

† The Chinese authorities, during the Captain's sojourn at Poloo, posted up an order on the wall, forbidding the inhabitants to supply his expedition with food or provisions. This order the Captain tore down, and brought back with him to St. Petersburg. It is a very interesting document, and printed in Chinese and another language. The Captain showed me this and also one or two letters he had received from Capt. Younghusband. From the latter, the two explorers seem to have "chummed" like old friends.

Poloo, I set out for Kerija, being invited there by the Kerjan Amban. This official, making a pretence of indisposition, declined to have a personal interview, and at the same time gave orders forbidding the inhabitants of the country to sell us anything whatever. The Chinese soldiers now assumed towards us an insolent and impudent manner, apparently wishing to come into collision with us. Knowing the cowardice of the Chinese soldiers, I came to the conclusion that they were acting from orders, and on that account encamped on an open spot outside the town, where I might at least be able to have recourse to self-defence. At the same time I received information from the Cossack orderly Jozjakaeff, who had been left behind with our baggage, that a Chinese official had made his appearance at Poloo, and, together with the assistance of the inhabitants of that place, was destroying the road between Poloo and Thibet. The road leads through a narrow defile with perpendicular sides; the pathways leading over precipices by means of beams, the destruction of which disconnects all communication. Naturally, I immediately hastened to Poloo. The Chinese official, having learned of my arrival, fled through the hills to Kerija, whilst I then, with the active assistance of the population, commenced the repair of the road, which the Chinese had spoilt. Soon after this I became involved in a tiresome correspondence with the official of the Kerijesk district, who obstinately demanded my return, whilst categorically refusing my entrance into Thibet, on the ground that I was "not in possession of a Chinese passport." As I unconditionally refused to fulfil the demand of the Kerijan Amban and energetically made preparations for the journey, this official then sent out against the expedition a body of horsemen, ordering them to take us by force if we did not in the space of three days leave Poloo of our own accord. I knew that, as we possessed a large supply of cartridges, we might defend ourselves for some time, but also had to confess that the Chinese, sooner or later, would be victorious. To surrender myself of my own free will to the Chinese I natu-

rally could not think of, for that would be risking the loss of our journals, our plates, and other materials of scientific importance, obtained by us so dearly. At this critical moment, the sympathetic inhabitants of Poloo came to our assistance, and agreed to furnish us with the necessary quantity of baggage—animals and carriers, also to take upon themselves the wrath of the Chinese for the assistance they had given us. In return for these services, I gave the inhabitants of Poloo all my remaining store of silver, amounting to about 5 jamb (*circa* £75).

On the 5th of May, at sunrise, we set out on our journey, and on the 10th inst. were already on the Thibetan table-land.

It transpired however that we had mounted at an inopportune moment. The table-land attains an altitude of more than 16,000 feet, and life on it had as yet not commenced. The ice and the snow had not begun to thaw; and the procuring of water from beneath the ice was accompanied with incredible difficulties. The frost kept at  $-20^{\circ}$  to  $-24^{\circ}$  Celsius, and was felt by us the more, as only a few days previously, we were residing in Kerija and enjoying the heat at a temperature of  $31^{\circ}$  Celsius in the shade.

These swift changes of temperature especially affected our baggage animals, which commenced to fall. Nevertheless, we obtained some light on the country for a considerable distance, and verified our work in this portion of South-western Thibet by astronomical observations. The character of this table-land quite reminded us of the more western portions of this same table-land, which we had visited in the winter. It consists of the same salty, sandy wilderness, intersected with low, hilly ridges, forming deep hollows with immense lakes. The only difference consists in that there is here incomparably more grass and more animals, especially wild yaks, which keep together in large herds. Besides, our journey made it evident that through Poloo from South-western Thibet, there was a road leading to the more inhabited portion of Thibet, only presenting difficulties the first three



days, *i.e.*, along the bed of the river Kooraha, being perfectly convenient farther on. This road is however only accessible for travelling three months in the year, from 1st of July to the end of September. Not being in a position to live long enough in this table-land to await the event of a warmer season, we turned to Poloo, and on the 5th of June proceeded further into Khotan, where we arrived in the very midst of the influenza. This sickness, after going the round of Europe, reached Turkestan in the winter months, and in the spring broke out behind the Tjan Shan mountains, and after moving farther and farther to the east, at last reached Khotan. There were several separate cases of this epidemic even reported in Poloo, at an altitude of about 9,000 feet. The influenza hardly spared a single one of my followers, finding a fruitful soil in their constitution, weakened by privations. As regards myself, it attacked me with great severity, since I was not quite restored from the heavy sickness which had afflicted me in the autumn. July, August, and September we spent in investigating the basin of the river Teznaff, the central stream of the river Yarkend Daria, and the eastern slope of the Kashgar mountain range, that is to say, places almost completely uninvestigated by Europeans. The basin of the river Teznaff afforded an especially large harvest for science, being almost densely inhabited by settlements of tribes of mountaineers, highly interesting (in an ethnographical respect). The first intimation of the existence of these mountaineers was given to the learned world by the Forsyth expedition (1873-1874). This information is however very inaccurate, because none of the members of that expedition personally visited them; but made their statements concerning them from information founded on inquiries from others. I visited these mountaineers in the winter, and afterwards, during the summer of the following year, studied their customs in detail and gave full information concerning their most important peculiarities in my letters to the Russian Geographical Society, in December, 1889.

During the latter portion of August we arrived at the town

of Yarkand, where we were again met by the expedition of Capt. Younghusband; which, having returned into India in 1889, had been in the spring again liberally \* equipped by the East Indian Government, and, together with a large suite, had been sent out to Kashgar. This time, Capt. Young-husband arrived before me in Yarkand, and endeavoured to repay me for the hospitality shown him a few months before in the deserted basin of the river Raskeen.

After having visited the eastern shores of the Kashgar mountain range, we, at the end of September, arrived at Kashgar, whence, having rested somewhat and partaken of the hospitality of the Russian Consul, we proceeded to Osh, in Fergistan, along the right shore of the river Kizool-Soo, and through the upper branches of the river Markan-Soo.

The following are the results of this journey :—

1. Investigations made for a distance of 7,200 versts (about 5,000 miles) of which more than 5,000 (3,315 miles) were in places formerly never investigated by Europeans.

2. These bearings corroborated at seventy-three different astronomical points, and verified with the observations of Colonel Pjevtoff, also with the labours of the Pamir expedition and the contemporary works of Englishmen.

3. 350 altitudes fixed with the assistance of the aneroid barometer, etc.

4. During all this exploration the expedition made systematic meteorological observations three times a day.

5. Rich geographical and ethnographical materials have been collected, illustrated by 240 photographic plates of types and views of the places visited.

6. Notwithstanding that a large portion of the collection had to be abandoned on the Thibet plateau, the expedition brought back with it three large boxes of geographical specimens, a collection of eggs, a collection of reptiles, (crawling and invertebrate) a small herbarium, an entomo-

\* Capt. G. seemed very much impressed at the liberality shown by our Government in fitting out our expedition, as regards both its scientific and other apparatus. He said he looked like a beggar or a vagabond, when first met by his fellow-travellers—to such straits had he been brought.

logical collection, a small geological collection, and specimens of the various beds of nephrite to be found in Kashgar, and also the tools employed by the aborigines for working this mineral.

7. The whole time a journal was kept by the expedition, which consists of 4 volumes.

All the scientific material acquired by me has been put at the disposal of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society."

And thus ends the account of the travels of this comparatively young and energetic explorer. Others may have done more than he ; but few have accomplished so much with the scanty resources and means at his command. Capt. G.—now Colonel, has returned to Fergistan to the scene of his former labours, and it is not improbable that we shall hear more of him should his life be spared, and that he will be a worthy follower of the great Col. Preshevalsky.

Every sane Englishman will admit that his country cannot hope to engage Russia successfully without the aid of allies. A conflict between these two countries would now no longer be correctly described in the words of Bismarck, as "A struggle between a whale and an elephant," but rather as "a struggle between an elephant and a not over-fed lion"—the lion being our handful of soldiers in India and the few men England might spare from Home and the Colonies. Even at the present moment, the Indian army has enough to do in keeping order in Burmah and the turbulent hill tribes of the frontier. What would happen, should a formidable insurrection take place, and attack us in the rear while the hardy troops of Russia, unspoilt by civilization, engage us in the front, is terrible, but not difficult to imagine.

A wise people prepares itself for every contingency.

It does not rely on Afghan buffers, subsidies to treacherous Asiatics, Chinese walls, consisting of useless restrictions and over-zealous officials, to guard the frontiers of its possessions. It should not deem it becoming to be constantly in trepidation as to the intentions of another Power, but should set about raising a force of armed men, numerous enough to

protect its interests. If England is to be supreme among the nations of the earth, it is not enough that she be the first naval Power. She must also be, as in days, alas ! gone by, the first military Power. She would then have no need to be inhospitable to a Russian explorer who craves permission to winter in a Cashmere village. Not only would it be deemed undignified to cast about for absurd reasons for refusing such permission, but she would welcome Russian merchants into the Indian Empire. Indian tea would be drunk in Russia, and so further improve the commercial relations between the two countries ; and the two countries would be able to work side by side at the civilization of Asia.

That Central Asia stands in great need of being reduced to order, the narratives of Colonel Grambcheffsky and other travellers amply show ; and if this region be, indeed, as philologists tell us, the locality in which our ancestors in the far and dim past resided, it is only fitting that we should take its civilization in hand. Much of it is habitable, and could be colonized by our surplus populations. A learned Asiatic with whom I was conversing on this subject, the other day, who had travelled all over Europe, and was well acquainted with its peoples and their political life, gave expression to the following prophecy : " You people of Europe, you have come from the East, and when you cannot live in Europe any more, you will go back to the East. Here you are all cramped up, cutting one another's throats for a paltry strip of territory, while in Asia there is room enough for you all." There is little doubt that in these words there is much truth. Half the quarrels and wars of Europe are of economic origin. If the French and the Germans possessed large colonies in Asia, to which they could send their surplus populations, they would not be so ready to slaughter one another by hundreds of thousands for the sake of a strip of land, which, were it in Asia, would not be found marked on an ordinary sized map. If, however, war is to be a thing of the past, the struggle for existence in Europe will become so intensified, that not only the Jews, but also large portions of those

nationalities whose ancestors came to Europe before the dawn of history, will prefer to return to the countries whence they came, rather than to remain in Europe and die of starvation.

England and Russia should, each of them, recognise the fact that they have, together, a mission to perform in the East, and that each, by seeking no undue advantage over the other, will benefit humanity at large. A struggle for supremacy would be madness; for whichever might be the victor, the other would be so weakened that the semi-civilized hordes of China would soon snatch from him the fruits of his hardly-won victory; and would govern the provinces now subject to English and Russian dominion with unheard-of rigour. Sooner than that England and Russia should come to blows over Constantinople or the Persian Gulf, it would be better that they should, in conjunction with China and France, annex the whole remaining portions of Asia, and thus do away with the robbery, violence, and oppression chronic in the States lying between the British, Russian, and Chinese frontiers.

These ideas will be laughed at by short-sighted people. They will be called visionary. But a very important fact is apt to be overlooked. The Chinese are an intelligent people, and should they ever turn their attention to the modern art of war, England and Russia, in order to retain their Eastern possessions, would have to keep quartered permanently in Asia an enormous army. It is folly to give way to useless apprehension. But, on the other hand, it is greater folly to cry "Peace, peace, when there is no peace"; and no one who takes an interest in the political equilibrium of Asia will be found to deny that a struggle between Russia and England, whatever the result, would be suicidal, so far as their Asiatic interests are concerned—that it would mean practically handing over the whole of Asia to the Chinese.

W. BARNES STEVENI.

NOTE ON "RECENT EVENTS ON THE PAMIRS."

It has not transpired yet whether the treatment to which Colonel Grambcheffsky was subjected the winter before last at the hands of our Indian authorities has any bearing on the recent incidents which have occurred in the Pamirs. As has been stated in the papers, the Colonel had not, as was at first surmised, any hand in the arrest of Captain Younghusband. Those who have read my article in the preceding number of this Review will have been prepared for this announcement. The warm feelings of friendship which the Colonel entertains for the Indian officer made it antecedently probable that he would avoid being employed on so distasteful a duty.

No doubt the Russian authorities, notwithstanding their politeness, took a malicious delight in arresting Captain Younghusband and Lieutenant Davison; but it would be folly to assume that the attitude which they have taken up with regard to the Pamirs has been provoked by our treatment of Colonel Grambcheffsky. Their real object is to checkmate, if possible, the endeavours which they believe the Indian Government are making "to lock together the frontiers of Afghanistan and China." Such indeed is the assertion made in a recent interesting article in the *St. Petersburg Novosti*. "It was," says this paper, "after General Abramoff succeeded in taking his detachment across the Trans-Alaisk range, with the object of passing through the Pamir in the direction of Tchatral, and in carrying his artillery through the highest mountain passes, that the English have begun to evince particular concern with regard to Vachan, through which it is possible to enter the Tchatral valley by the Barogelsk pass. The English regard this possibility as a matter of some importance in reference to the defence of India.

"The expedition of the English Agent, Younghusband, had for its object, as is well known, the formation of an understanding between the Chinese, the owners of the eastern portion of the Pamir, and the Afghans, whose

western frontier extends to this region. In other words, the English desired to lock together the frontiers of Chinese and Afghan territory, to seize the intervening portion of the Pamir, which was thoroughly surveyed by the Russians in 1883, and in this way to bar the road to Tchitral.

"From the facts which have transpired concerning our movements in the Pamir, we have reason to think that Russia's action was the logical reply to the intrigues of the English, and that the appearance of the much-talked-of Goorkhas from Gilgit was powerless to hinder the further prosecution by Russia of her constant policy of firmness in Central Asia."

This probably represents the official view in Russia about recent events. It is evident that whatever may be the opinion of an uninformed section of Englishmen, who pooh-pooh the idea of attaching importance to those events, not only the Russians, but also our Indian authorities are alive to their significance, and to the fact that the Little Pamir is not, as stated, practically useless and impassable as an approach for an invading army. Englishmen, disinclined from considerations of expense, or slow to realize that there is need to make a much larger provision for the defence of their Indian Frontier than at present exists, may persuade themselves that there is no need for apprehension; but before many years have passed they will awake to the fact, patent enough to those who study the question, that their policy is penny wise and pound foolish.

The *Novosti*, in the article from which I have quoted, gives some further information about the Pamirs, which will be of interest. "Many travellers," they say, "have recently given us explanations of the word 'Pamir.' According to some of them, all those regions are called *Pamirs* which are visited by the Khirgize during the summer months for pasturage purposes. The foundation for this definition is supported by the Tadsheks of Tashkoorgan and the Vachaji of the Pamir. These tribes divide the Pamir into the large and small Pamir. In remote times, two brothers, of the

names of Alichur and Pamir, wandered, so some of these nomad aborigines relate, in these regions, and gave their names to the Table-lands. Other travellers trace the word to the designation '*Bam-e-dunyah*' (*Anglicè*)—'The Roof of the World.'"

The frontiers of the Pamir are, properly considered, on the north, the Trans-Alaïsk Mountain Range; on the east, the Sarikolsk Hills; on the south, the Hindu Kush; and on the west, the river Pandsha. The rivers watering the table-land are the Moorgab, the Vachan Darya, the Shaeh Darya, and the Gunta. These rivers have innumerable tributaries, which, being fed by the melting of the snows, begin in the autumn to dry up in their upper reaches, if not throughout their whole course. The average height of the Pamir is 14,000 ft. above the level of the sea. The mountain chains, however, rise to a height of 19,000 ft., and isolated peaks to 25,000 ft.

The Pamir has only two seasons—a severe winter and a hot summer. The latter lasts only four months. During the remainder of the year intense frosts prevail. In winter the intensity of the cold is such that  $-20^{\circ}$  R. ( $= -13^{\circ}$  F.) is reached. In support of our statements as to the climate, we will give the experiences of the members of the English expedition under Forsyth. These affirmed that on reaching an altitude of 12,000 ft. above the sea, many of them were seized with giddiness, sickness, and a singing in the ears, accompanied by a flow of blood from the nose.

Among the numerous pretensions of the English in respect of Afghanistan, may be mentioned those relating to Vachan, a region of about 400 versts (265 miles) long, and situated in the valley of the Vachan Darya. The inhabitants of this district number 1,700, and resemble the Tadsheks in their outward appearance. They have their own peculiar dialect, and a good knowledge of Persian. The men are tall. Like the generality of mountaineers, they are splendid pedestrians, warlike, and expert marksmen. They are admirers of the Russians, and always



speak of the Russian Empire with great enthusiasm. The women boast fine features and beautiful forms. Contrary, however, to the usual Eastern custom, they do not, when in the society of men, cover their faces, but preserve the utmost freedom."

W. BARNES STEVENI.

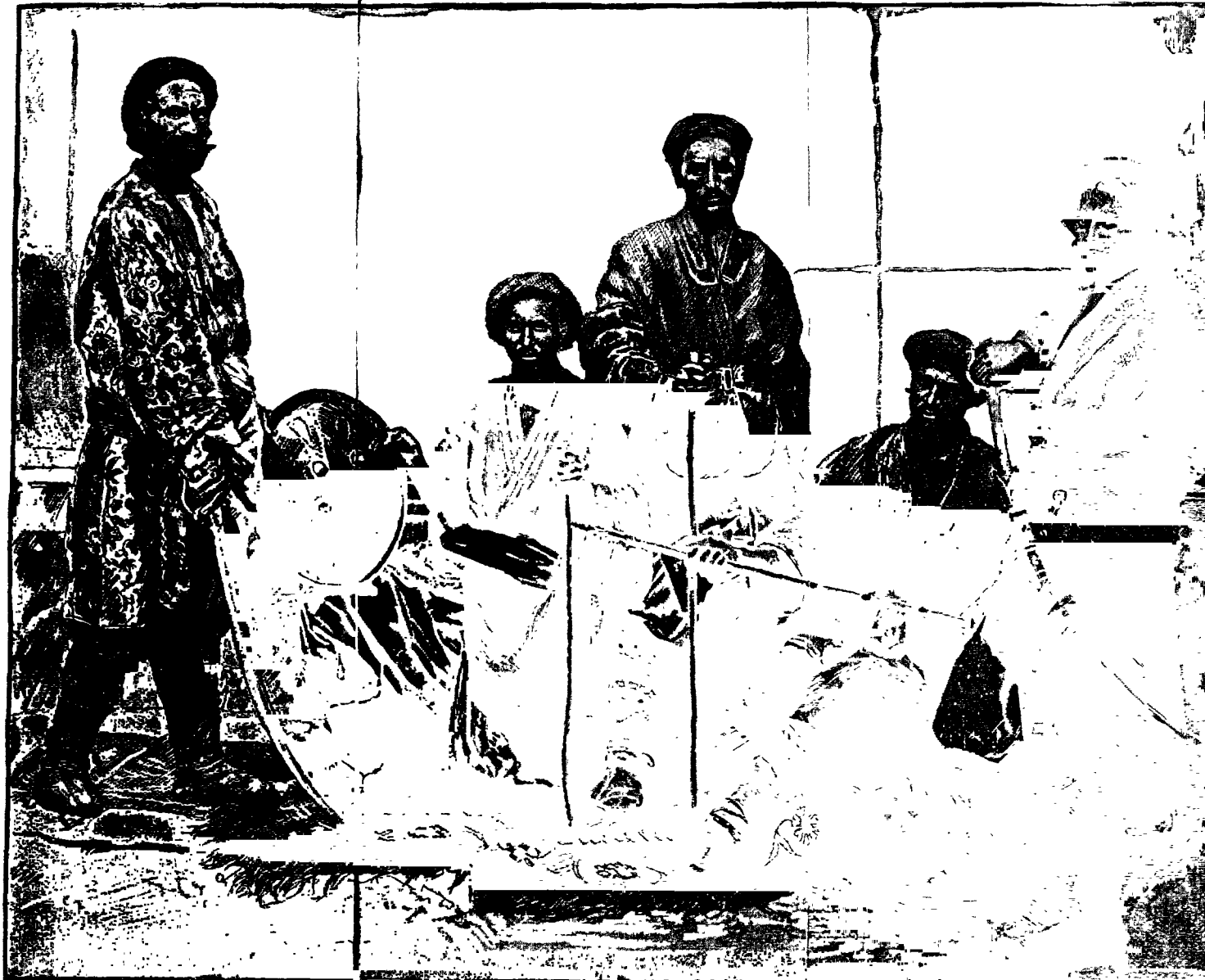
We regret that so eminent an explorer as Col. Grambcheffsky should endeavour to make capital out of a commonplace incident. He had made it quite clear to the Indian Government that he was not a mere ordinary traveller on a scientific expedition, and when he *demand*ed passage for himself and his guard through Kashmir, the Government of India declined permission, Col. Nisbet being, of course, merely their mouthpiece.

It seems to us that no one has a right to enter a foreign State with soldiers, and so Col. Grambcheffsky has only himself to blame if his demand was not complied with. That he was not a mere scientific explorer recent events in the Pamir have abundantly shown. At the same time we regret that the intense cold which the Colonel experienced on his return journey from Leh should have injured his constitution. He is suffering from an affection of the spine which necessitates his going about on crutches. He is now Secretary to the Agricultural Commission of Turkistan.

The Russians further complain that the Indian Authorities had also been unnecessarily suspicious as regards Prince Galitzin, who, "although he has lost his right arm, and was attended only by three peasant servants, was not allowed to return by the Karakorum pass on his way back to Tashkand." All we can say is that Prince Galitzin was allowed the exceptional privilege of attending the Aligurh manoeuvres. The Russians also laugh at the English Topographical Department having published maps marked secret, when Russia had better maps and on a much bigger scale of the regions which are regarded with such jealous suspicion. To this we can only reply that it is perfectly true that the Russian Foreign Office has always been able to get our maps when they might be denied to English applicants, some of whom, indeed, could have given more information, say to the War Office, than they expected to receive in return. Col. Grambcheffsky himself seems to be an instance of what we affirm. His invaluable autograph map, which we publish in this issue, has the serious mistake of putting "Hunza" on the wrong side of the river, and does not mention Nagyr at all, which is on the opposite side. Yet Col. Grambcheffsky is supposed to have been in Hunza. A second map of his, which we have seen, repeats the mistake. The Royal Geographical Society, which is supposed to be supplied with all non-confidential information by the War Office, published a map of Mr. Littledale's journey, that puts, it is true, Hunza on the right side, but also omits Nagyr. *Now*, the *Russian* Geographical Society has published a map which puts these matters perfectly right, and in this, as also in many other particulars, is evidently based on the last English official maps. The Russians state that if England would carry out their interpretation of the alleged treaty obligations made by Lord Loftus at Livadia and St. Petersburg, the Central Asian question could be settled peaceably. It seems to us that Russia is far less prepared to go to war at present than we are, and that there is a complete reply to the articles in the *St. Petersburg Herald* on the origin, history, and bearings of the Pamir question.—*Editor.*



SPECIMENS OF THE BURISHKI RACE OF HUNZA (ON A SLOPE OF THE PAMIR), OF NAGYR, AND OF YASIN.



MATAVALLI,  
the first Hunza man who came  
to Europe.

SOME BURISHKIS FROM YASIN.

SAYAD ALI,  
OF NAGYR.

## HUNZA, NAGYR, AND THE PAMIR REGIONS.\*

I WISH to record how from small beginnings, owing to carelessness, exclusiveness, and official desire for promotion, Northern India may be lost and British interests in Europe and Asia become subordinate, as they have often been, to Russian guidance; how statesmanship has laboriously invited dangers which physical barriers had almost rendered impossible; and how it may still be practicable to maintain as independent States the numerous mountain strongholds which Nature has interposed between encroachment and intrigue from either the Russian or the English sphere of action in Asia, much to the benefit of these two Powers and of the peace of mankind.

When, after an enormous expenditure of men and money and during campaigns which lasted over thirty-six years, Russia had conquered independent Circassia—a task in which she was largely aided by our preventing provisions and ammunitions from reaching by sea the so-called rebels, although we ourselves were fighting against her in 1856, *quorum pars parva fui*, it was easy to foresee that our conduct, which some called chivalry, others loyalty, and some duplicity or folly, would give her the present command of the Black Sea and lead to the subjugation of Circassia. The same conduct was repeated at Panjdeh, and may be repeated on the Pamir, much to the personal advantage of the discreet officers concerned. We have also recently discovered that the holding of Constantinople by a neutral Power is not essential to British interests; as we had long ago found out that neither Merv nor Herat were keys to India. Indeed,

\* I began to write this paper as an introduction to an academical treatment of the history, language, and customs of Hunza-Nagyr, when the apparently, sudden, but, probably, calculated complications on that frontier compelled me to abandon my task for the present and to discuss instead the ephemeral news as they were published from day to day in the press.

as we give up position after position, a crop of honours falls to those who bring about our losses and, like charity, covers a multitude of political sins of ignorance or treason.

It seemed, however, that there was one obscure corner which the official sidelight could not irradiate. Valley after valley, plateau after plateau, high mountains and difficult passes separate the populations of India from those of Central Asia. Innumerable languages and warlike races, each unconquerable in their own strongholds if their autonomy and traditions are respected, intervene between invaders from either side who would lead masses of disciplined slaves to slaughter and conquest. It is not necessary to draw an imaginary line on Lord Salisbury's large or small Map of Asia across mountains and rivers, and dividing arbitrarily tribes and kingdoms whose ancestry is the same, call it "the neutral zone." No sign-board need indicate "the way to India," and amid much ado about nothing by ambitious subordinates and puzzled superiors settle to the momentary satisfaction of the British public that Russia can go so far and no farther. Where the cold, the endless marching over inhospitable ground, and starvation do not show the frontier, the sparse population, the unknown tongue, and the bullet of the raider will indicate it sufficiently, without adding to the number of generals or knights for demarcating impossible boundaries.

The reassurances given by Lords Lansdowne and Cross to the native Princes of India indicate the policy that should be adopted with regard to all the Mountain States beyond India proper. It is by everywhere respecting the existing indigenous Oriental Governments that we protect them and ourselves against invasion from without and treachery from within. The loyalty of our feudatories is most chivalrous and touching, but it should be based on enlightened self-interest in order to withstand the utmost strain. The restoration of some powers to the Maharaja of Kashmir came not a minute too soon. Wherever elsewhere reasonable claims are withheld, they should be gene-

rously and speedily conceded. The Indian princes know full well that we are arming them, at their own expense, against a common foe who is not wanting in promises, and who is already posing as a saviour to the people of Raushan, Shignan, Wakhan, Hunza, and even Badakhshan, whose native dynasties or traditions we have either already put aside or are believed to threaten.

As for the small States offering a fruitful field for intrigue, their number and internal jealousies (except against a common foreign invader) are in themselves a greater safeguard than the resistance of a big but straggling ally, whose frontier, when broken through at one of its many weak points, finds an unresisting population from which all initiative has disappeared. The intrigue or treachery of a big ally is also a more serious matter than that of a little State. What does it matter if English and Russian agents intrigue or fraternize among the *ovis poli*, and the Kirghiz shepherds of the Pamir, or advocate their respective civilizations in Yasin, Chitrál, Wakhan, Nagyr, Hunza, etc. Ambitious employés of both empires will always trouble waters, in order to fish in them; but their trouble is comparatively innocuous, and resembles that of Sisyphus when it has to be repeated or wasted in a dozen States, before the real defences of either India or of Russia in Asia are reached. Indeed, so far as India is concerned, the physical difficulties on our side of the Himalayas or of the Hindukush, except at a few easily defensible passes, are insuperable to an invader, even after he has crowned the more approachable heights when coming from the North.

The only policy worthy of the name is to leave the Pamir alone. Whatever line is drawn, it is sure to be encroached upon by either side. Races will be found to overlap it, and in the attempt to gather the fold, as with the Sarik and Salor Turkomans, a second Panjdeh is sure to follow. Intrigues will be active on both sides of the line; and, as in Kashmír, the worried people will hail the foreigner as a saviour, so long as he has not taken posses-

sion, when they find his little finger heavier than the whole body of the indigenous oppressor. I have suffered so much from my persistent exposure of the misrule and intrigues of Kashmir by those who now hail the *fait accompli* of its practical annexation, that I may claim to be heard in favour of at least one feature of its former native administration. With bodies of troops averaging from 20 to 200, the late Maharaja, who foresaw what has happened after his death, kept the Hunza-Nagyr frontier in order. It certainly was by rule of thumb, and had no dockets, red tape, and reports. Indeed, his frontier guardians were, as I found them, asleep during a state of siege in 1866, or, when war was over, were engaged in storing grain *outside* the forts ; but peace was kept as it will never be again, in spite of 2,000 Imperial troops, first-rate roads, and suspension bridges over the "Shaitan Naré," instead of the rotten rope-way that spanned "Satan's Gorge," or of boats dragged up from Srinagar over the mountains to enable a dozen sepoy to cross the Indus at a time, or to convey couriers with a couple of bullets, some dried butter-cakes, and an open letter or two, who ran the siege at Gilgit and brought such effective reinforcements to its defenders !

Nor has our diplomacy been more effectual than our arms, as the encounter at Chalt with Hunza-Nagyr, hereditary foes, but whom our policy has united against us, has shown. To us Nagyr is decidedly friendly ; but a worm will turn if trodden on by some of our too quickly advanced subalterns. That, however, the wise and amiable Chief of Nagyr, a patriarch with a large progeny, and preserving the keenness of youth in his old age, is really friendly to us in spite of provocation, may be inferred from the following letter to me, which does credit alike to his head and heart, and which is far from showing him to be our inveterate foe, as alleged by the *Pioneer*. His eldest son began to teach me the remarkable Khajuná language, which I first committed to writing in 1866, during the siege of Gilgit, and another son continued the lessons in 1886.



KASHMIR SOLDIER (HIGHLANDER),  
(Wearing a Great Lam's Hat.)



A BALUCH (LITTLE FIBER).



TWO CHITRALIS.



A GHILGHILI.









The latter is a hostage in Kashmîr, to secure the good behaviour of his tribe, which is really infinitely superior in culture and piety to those around them. The father, who is over 90, writes in Persian to the following effect, after the usual compliments :—" The affairs of this place are by your fortune in a fair way, and I am in good health and constantly ask the same for you from the Throne which grants requests. Your kind favour with a drawing of the Mosque has reached me, and has given me much pleasure and satisfaction. The reason of the delay in its receipt and acknowledgment is due to the circumstance that, owing to disturbances (*fesâd*) I have not sent agents to Kashmîr this year. After the restoration of peace, I will send [a letter] with them. In the meanwhile, I have caught your hem [seek your protection] for my son Habibullah Khan, a beloved son, about whom I am anxious ; the aforesaid son is a well-wisher to the illustrious English Government. —ZA'FAR KHAN." [The letter was apparently written in June last, when *The Times* reported a "rising," because the British Agent was at Chalt with 500 men.]

It seems to me that none but a farseeing man could, in the midst of a misunderstanding, if not a fight, with us, so write to one in the enemy's camp, unless he were a true man alike in war and peace, and a ruler whose good-will was worth acquiring. As for his son, I know him to be indeed well-disposed to our Government. He was very popular among our officers when I saw him in Kashmîr, owing to his modesty, amiability, and unsurpassed excellence at Polo. In fact, my friendship with several of the chiefs since 1866 has aided our good relations with them ; and it is a pity if they should be destroyed for want of a little "*savoir*," as also "*savoir faire*," on our part.

Between the States of Nagyr and Hunza there exists a perpetual feud. They are literally rivals, being separated by a swift-flowing river on which, at almost regulated distances, one Nagyr fort on one bank frowns at the Hunza fort on the other. The paths along the river sides

are very steep, involving at times springing from one ledge of a rock to another, or dropping on to it from a height of six feet, when, if the footing is lost, the wild torrent sweeps one away. Colonel Biddulph does not credit the Nagyris with bravery. History, however, does not bear out his statement; and the defeat inflicted on the Kashmir troops under Nathu Shah in 1848 is a lesson even for the arrogance of a civilized invader armed with the latest rifle. The Nagyris are certainly not without culture; in music they were proficient before the Muhammadan piety of the Shiah sect somewhat tabooed the art. At all events, they are different in character from the Hunzas with whom they share the same language, and their chiefs the same ancestry. The Hunzas, in whom a remnant of the Huns may be found, were great kidnappers; but under Kashmir influence they stopped raiding since 1869, till the confusion incidental to our interference revived their gone occupation. Indeed, it is asserted on good authority, that even our ally of Chitrál, who had somewhat abandoned the practice of selling his Shiah or Kalásha Kafir subjects into slavery, and who had so disposed of the miners for not working his ruby mines to profit, has now returned to the trade in men, "with the aid of our present of rifles and our moral support." Nor is Bokhara said to be behind Chitrál in the revival of the slave-trade from Darwáz, in spite of Russian influence; so that we have the remarkable instance of two great Powers both opposed to slavery and the slave-trade, having revived it in their approach to one another. Nor is a third Power, quite blameless in the matter; for when we worried Hunza, that robber-nest remembered its old allegiance to distant Kitái and arranged with the Chinese authorities at Yarkand to be informed of the departure of a caravan. Then, after intercepting it on the Kulanuldi road, the Hunzas would take those they kidnapped from it back for sale to Yarkand!

As a matter of fact, we have now a scramble for the regions surrounding and extending into the Pamirs by

three Powers, acting either directly or through States of Straw. The claims of Bokhara to Karategin and Darwáz—if not to Shignán, Raushan, and Wakhan are as little founded as are those of Afghanistan on the latter three districts. Indeed, even the Afghan right to Badakhshan is very weak. The Russian claims through Khokand on the pasturages of the Kirghiz in two-thirds of the Pamirs are also as fanciful as those of Kashmir or China on Hunza. As in the scramble for Africa, the natives themselves are not consulted, and their indigenous dynasties have been either destroyed, or dispossessed, or ignored.

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In an Indian paper, received by to-day's mail (29 Nov., 1891), I find the following paragraph : “ Col. A. G. Durand, British Agent at Gilgit, has received definite orders to bring the robber tribes of Hunza and Nagar under control. These tribes are the pirates of Central Asia, whose chief occupation is plundering caravans on the Yarkand and Kashgar. Any prisoners they take on these expeditions are sold into slavery. Colonel Durand has established an outpost at Chalt, about thirty miles beyond Gilgit, on the Hunza river, and intends making a road to Aliabad, the capital of the Hunza chief, at once. That he will meet with armed opposition in doing so is not improbable.”

For some months past the *mot d'ordre* appears to have been given to the Anglo-Indian Press, to excite public feeling against Hunza and Nagyr, two States which have been independent for fourteen centuries. The cause of offence is not stated, nor, as far as I know, does one exist of sufficient validity to justify invasion. In the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette* I find vague allusions to the disloyalty or recalcitrance of the above-mentioned tribes, and to the necessity of punishing them. As Nagyr is extremely well-disposed towards the British, and is only driven into making common cause with its hereditary foe and rival of Hunza by fear of a common danger,—the

loss of their independence,—I venture to point out the impolicy and injustice of interfering with these principalities.

I have already referred to a letter from the venerable chief of Nagyr, in which he strongly commends to my care one of his sons, Raja Habibulla, as a well-wisher of the English Government. Indeed, he has absolutely done nothing to justify any attack on the integrity of his country; and before we invade it other means to secure peace should be tried. I have no doubt that I, for one, could induce him to comply with everything in reason, if reason, and not an excuse for taking his country, is desired. Nagyr has never joined Hunza in kidnapping expeditions, as is alleged in the above-quoted paragraph. Indeed, slavery is an abomination to the pious and peaceful agriculturist of that interesting country. The Nagyris are musical and were fond of dances, polo, ibex *battue*-hunting, archery and shooting from horseback, and other manly exercises; but the growing piety of the race has latterly proscribed music and dancing. The accompanying drawing of a Nagyri dance in the neighbouring Gilgit gives a good idea of similar performances at Nagyr.

The country is full of legendary lore, but less so than Hunza, where Grimm's fairy tales appear to be translated into actual life. No war is undertaken except at the supposed command of an unseen fairy, whose drum is on such occasions sounded in the mountains. Ecstatic women, inhaling the smoke of a cedar-branch, announce the future, tell the past, and describe the state of things in neighbouring valleys. They are thus alike the prophets, the historians, and the journalists of the tribe. They probably now tell their indignant hearers how, under the pretext of shooting or of commerce, Europeans have visited their country, which they now threaten to destroy with strange and murderous weapons; but Hunza is "ayeshó," or "heaven-born," and the fairies, if not the inaccessible nature of the country, will continue to protect it.

The folly of invading Hunza and Nagyr is even greater



A DANCE AT GHILGHIT.





than the physical obstacles to which I have already referred. Here, between the Russian and the British spheres of influence in Central Asia, we have not only the series of Pamirs, or plateaux and high valleys, which I first brought to notice on linguistic grounds, in the map accompanying my tour in Dardistan in 1866 (the country between Kashmir and Kabul), and which have been recently confirmed topographically; but we have also a large series of mountainous countries, which, if left alone, or only assured of our help against a foreign invader, would guarantee for ever the peace alike of the Russian, the British, and the Chinese frontiers. Unfortunately, we have allowed Afghanistan to annex Badakhshan, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, at much loss of life to their inhabitants; and Russia has similarly endorsed the shadowy and recent claims of Bokhara on neighbouring provinces, like Darwáz and Karategin.

It is untrue that Hunza and Nagyr were ever tributaries of Kashmír, except in the sense that they occasionally sent a handful of gold dust to its Maharaja, and received substantial presents in return. It is to China or Kitái that Hunza considers itself bound by an ancient, but vague, allegiance. Hunza and Nagyr, that will only unite against a foreign common foe, have more than once punished Kashmír when attempting invasion; but they are not hostile to Kashmír, and Nagyr even sends one of the princes to Srinagar as a guarantee of its peaceful intentions. At the same time, it is not very many months ago that they gave us trouble at Chalt, when we sought to establish an outpost, threatening the road to Hunza and the independence alike of Hunza and Nagyr.

Just as Nagyr is pious, so Hunza is impious. Its religion is a perversion even of the heterodox Mulái faith, which is Shiah Muhammadan only in name, but pantheistic in substance. It prevails in Punyál, Zebak, Darwáz, etc. The Tham, or Raja, of Hunza used to dance in a Mosque and hold revels in it. Wine is largely drunk in Hunza, and like the Druses of the Lebanon, the "initiated" Muláis

may consider nothing a crime that is not found out. Indeed, an interesting connection can be established between the doctrines of the so-called "Assassins" of the Crusaders, which have been handed down to the Druses, and those of the Muláis in various parts of the Hindukush. Their spiritual chief gave me a few pages of their hitherto mysterious Bible, the "Kelám-i-Pir," in 1886, which I have translated, and shortly intend to publish. All I can now say is, that, whatever the theory of their faith, the practice depends, as elsewhere, on circumstances and the character of the race.

The language of Hunza and Nagyr solves many philological puzzles. It is a prehistoric remnant, in which a series of simple consonantal or vowel sounds stands for various groups of ideas, relationships, etc. It establishes the great fact, that customs and the historical and other associations of a race are the basis of the so-called rules of grammar. The cradle, therefore, of human thought as expressed in language, whether of the Aryan, the Turanian, or the Shemitic groups, is to be found in the speech of Hunza-Nagyr; and to destroy this by foreign intervention, which has already brought new diseases into the Hindukush, as also a general linguistic deterioration, would be a greater act of barbarism than to permit the continuance of Hunza raiding on the Yarkand road. Besides, that raiding can be stopped again, by closing the slave-markets of Badakhshan, Bokhara, and Yarkand, or by paying a subsidy, say of £1,000 per annum, to the Hunza chief.

Indeed, as has already been pointed out, the recrudescence of kidnapping is largely due to the state of insecurity and confusion caused by our desire to render the Afghan and the Chinese frontiers conterminous with our own, in the vain belief that the outposts of three large and distant kingdoms, acting in concert, will keep Russia more effectively out of India than a number of small independent republics or principalities. Afghanistan may now be big, but every so-called subject in her outlying districts is her

inveterate foe. As stated in a letter from Nevsky to the Calcutta *Englishman*, in connection with Colonel Grambcheffsky's recent explorations :

"One and all, these devastated tribes are firm in their conviction that the raids of their Afghan enemies were prompted and supported by the gold of Abdur Rahman's English protectors. They will remember this on the plateau of Pamir, and among the tribes of Kaffiristan."

However colourable this statement may be as regards Shignán, Raushan, and perhaps even Wakhan, I believe that the Kafirs are still our friends. At the same time it should not be forgotten that, owing to the closing of the slave-markets in Central Asia, the sale of Shial subjects had temporarily stopped in Chitrál. The Kafirs were being less molested by kidnapping Muhammadan neighbours; the Hunzas went back to agriculture, which the Nagyris had never abandoned; Kashmír, India, and the Russian side of Central Asia afforded no opening for the sale of human beings. The insensate ambition of officials, British and Russian, the gift of arms to marauding tribes and the destruction of Kashmír influence, have changed all this, and it is only by a return to "masterly inactivity," which does not mean the continuance of the Cimmerian darkness that now exists as to the languages and histories of the most interesting races of the world, that the peace and pockets of three mighty empires can be saved.

In the meanwhile, it is to the interest of Russia to force us into heavy military expenditure by false alarms; to create distrust between ourselves and China by pretending that Russia and England alone have civilizing missions in Central Asia, with which Chinese tyranny would interfere; to hold up before us the Will-o'-the-wisp of an impossible demarcation of the Pamirs, and finally, to ally itself with China against India. For let it not be forgotten, that once the Trans-Siberian railway is completed, China will be like wax in her hand; and that she will be compelled to place her immense material in men and food at the disposal of an

overawing, but, as far as the *personnel* is concerned, not unamiable neighbour. The tribes, emasculated by our overwhelming civilization, and driven into three large camps, will no longer have the power of resistance that they now possess separately.

Let us therefore leave intact the two great belts of territories that Nature has raised for the preservation of peace in Asia—the Pamir with its adjacent regions to the east and west, and the zone of the Hindukush with its hives of independent tribes, intervening between Afghanistan on the one side and Kashmir on the other, till India proper is reached. This will never be the case by a foreign invader, unless diplomatists “meddle and muddle,” and try to put together what Nature has put asunder. What we require is the cultivation of greater sympathy in our relations with natives; and, comparing big things with small, it is to this feeling that I myself owed my safety, when I put off the disguise in which I crossed the Kashmir frontier in 1866 into countries then wrongly supposed by our Government to be inhabited by cannibals. This charge was also made, with equal error, by one tribe against the other. Then too, as in 1886, the Indian Press spoke of Russian intrigues; but then, as in 1886, I found the very name of Russia to be unknown, except where it had been learnt from a Kashmir Munshi, who had no business to be there at all, as the treaty of 1846, by which we sold Kashmir to Ghulab Singh, assigned the Indus as his boundary on the west. Now, as to the question as to “What and where are the Pamirs?” I have already stated my view in a letter to the Editor of the *Morning Post*, which I trust I may be allowed to quote :

“As some of the statements made at the Royal Geographical Society are likely to cause a sense of false security, as dangerous to peace as a false alarm, I write to say that ‘Pamirs’ do not mean ‘deserts,’ or ‘broken valleys,’ and that they are not uninhabitable or useless for movements of large bodies of men. They may be all this in certain places, at certain periods of the year, and under

certain conditions; but had our explorers or statesmen paid attention to the languages of this part of the world, as they should in regard to every other with which they deal, they would have avoided many idle conjectures and the complications that may follow therefrom. I do not wish them to refer to philologists who have never been to the East, and who interpret 'Pamir' as meaning the 'Upa-Meru' Mountain of Indian mythology, but to the people who frequent the Pamirs during the summer months, year after year, for purposes of pasturage, starting from various points, and who in their own languages (Yarkandi, Turki, and Kirghiz) call the high plain, elevated valley, table-land, or plateau which they come across 'Pamir.' There are, therefore, in one sense many 'Pamirs,' and as a *tout-ensemble*, one 'Pamir,' or geographically, *the* 'Pamir.' The legend of the two brothers, 'Alichur and Pamir,' is merely a personification of two plateaux. Indeed, the obvious and popular idea which has always attached to the word 'Pamir,' is the correct one, whether it is the geographical 'roof of the world,' the 'Bám-i-dunya' of the poet, or the 'Pamir-dunya' of the modern journalist. We have, therefore, to deal with a series of plateaux, the topographical limits of which coincide with linguistic, ethnographical, and political limits. To the North, the Pamirs have the Trans-Altaic Mountain range marking the Turki element, under Russian influence; the Panja river, by whatever name, on the West is a Tadjik or Iranian Frontier [Affghan]. The Sarikol on the East is a Tibetan, Mongolian, or Chinese Wall, and the South is our natural frontier, the Hindukush, to go beyond which is physical death to the Hindu, and political ruin to the holder of India, as it also is certain destruction to the invader, except by one pass, which I need not name, and which is accessible from a Pamir. That the Pamirs are not uninhabitable may be inferred from Colonel Grambcheffsky's account [which is published at length elsewhere in this issue of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW]. A few passages from it must now suffice:—'The Pamir is far from being a wilder-

ness. It contains a permanent population, residing in it both summer and winter.' 'The population is increasing to a marked extent.' 'Slavery on the Pamir is flourishing: moreover, the principal contingents of slaves are obtained from Chatrar, Jasen, and Kanshoot, chanates under the protectorate of England.' 'On descending into Pamir we found ourselves between the cordons of the Chinese and Affghan armies.' 'The population of Shoognan, numbering 2,000 families, had fled to Pamir, hoping to find a refuge in the Russian Provinces' (from 'the untold atrocities which the Affghans were committing in the conquered provinces of Shoognan,' etc.). 'I term the whole of the tableland "Pamir," in view of the resemblance of the valleys to each other.'

"The climate of the Pamirs is variable, from more than tropical heat in the sun to arctic cold in the shade, and in consequence, is alike provocative and destructive of life. Dr. G. Capus, who crossed them from north to south, exactly as Mr. Littledale has done, but several months in the year before him, says in his '*Observations Météorologiques sur le Pamir*,' which he sent to the last Oriental Congress,— 'The first general fact is the inconstancy of severe cold. The nights are generally coldest just before sunrise.' 'We found an extreme amplitude of 61 deg. between the absolute minimum and maximum, and of 41 deg. between the minimum and the maximum in the shade during the same day.' 'The thermometer rises and falls rapidly with the height of the sun.' 'Great cold is less frequent and persistent than was believed to be the case at the period of the year dealt with' (March 13 to April 19), 'and is compensated by daily intervals of elevation of temperature, which permit animal life, represented by a fairly large number of species, and including man, to keep up throughout the winter under endurable conditions.' Yet 'the water-streak of snow, which has melted in contact with a dark object, freezes immediately when put into the shadow of the very same object.' . . . The solution of political difficulties in Central Asia is not in a practically impossible, and certainly unmain-

tainable, demarcation of the Pamirs, but in the strengthening of the autonomy of the most interesting races that inhabit the series of Circassias that already guard the safety alike of British, Chinese, and of Russian dominion or spheres of influence in Central Asia."

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WOKING, *Nov.* 29.

It is not impossible that the tribes may again combine in 1892 as they did in 1866 to turn out the Kashmir troops from Gilgit. The want of wisdom shown in forcing on the construction of a road from Chalt to Aliabad, in the centre of Hunza, as announced in to-day's *Times*, must bring on, if not a confederation of the tribes against us, at any rate their awakened distrust. It is doubtful whether it was ever expedient to establish an outpost at Gilgit, and the carrying it still farther to the traditional apple of discord, the holding of Chalt, which commands the Hunza road, is still more impolitic. As in Affghanistan, so here, whatever power does *not* interfere is looked upon as the saviour from present evils. Once we have created big agglomerations under Affghanistan, or China, or Kashmir, we are liable to the dangers following either on collapse, want of cohesion, treachery from within, the ambitions of a few men at the respective courts, or, as with us, to serious fluctuations in foreign politics due to the tactics of English parties. The change, therefore, from natural boundaries to the wirepulling of diplomatists at Kabul, Peking, or Downing Street is not in the interests of peace, of our empire, or of civilization. Besides, it should not be forgotten that we have added an element of disturbance, far more subtle than the Babu, to our frontier difficulties. The timid Kashmiri is unsurpassed as an intriguer and adventurer among tribes beyond his frontier. The time seems to have arrived when, in the words of the well-known Persian proverb,\* the sparseness of races round

\* "Agàr qahàt rijál uftad az-si qaum kam giri.

Yakùm Affghan, doyùm Kambó, soyùm bad-zât Kashmìri."

If there (ever) should be a scarcity of men, frequent little (beware of) three peoples: one the Affghan, the second the Kambó, and the third the bad-raced Kashmiri.



the Pamirs should bid us to be on our guard against the Affghan, the "bad-raced" Kashmîrî, and the Kambó (supposed to be the tribe on the banks of the Jhelum beyond Mozafarabad). Perhaps, however, the Kambó is the Heathen Chineë; and the proverb would then be entirely applicable to the present question. After the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Russia will be able to exert the greatest pressure on China. The Russian strength at Vladivostok is already enormous, and when the time comes she can hurl an overwhelming force on what remains of Chinese Manchuria, before which Chinese resistance will melt like snow. Peking and the north of China are thus quite at the mercy of Russia. She will find there the most populous country of those she rules in Asia, and with ample supplies. China has a splendid raw material, militarily speaking; and Russia could there form the biggest army that has ever been seen in Asia, to hold *in terrorem* over a rival or to hurl at the possessions of a foe.

It is against such possibilities that the maintenance of "masterly inactivity," qualified by the moral and, if need be, pecuniary or other material support of the Anglo-Indian Government is needed. This is the object of this paper, before I enter into the more agreeable task of describing the languages, customs, and country of perhaps the most interesting races that inhabit the globe.

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*The Times* of the 30th November publishes a map of the Pamirs and an account of the questions connected with them that, like many other statements in its articles on "Indian affairs," are incorrect and misleading. Having been on a special mission by the Panjab Government, in 1866, when I discovered the races and languages of "Dardistan," and gave the country that name, and again having been on special duty with the Foreign Department of the Government of India in 1886 in connection with the Boorishki language and race of Hunza, Nagyr, and a part of Yasin, regarding which I have recently completed

Part I. of a large work, I may claim to speak with some authority as regards these districts, even if I had no other claim. The point which I wish to specially contradict at present, is the one relating to the Russians bringing themselves into almost direct contact with "the Hunza and other tribes subject to Kashmîr and, as such, entitled to British protection and under British control."

When I crossed the then Kashmîr frontier in 1866, in the disguise of a Bokhara Maulvi, armed with a testimonial of Muhammadan theological learning, I found that the tribes of Hunza, Nagyr, Dareyl, Yasin, and Chitrâl had united under the leadership of the last-named to expel the Kashmîr invaders from the Gilgit Fort. My mission was a purely linguistic one; but the sight of dying and dead men along the road, that of heads stuck up along the march of the Kashmîr troops, and the attempts made on my life by our feudatory, the late Maharaja of Kashmîr, compelled me to pay attention to other matters besides the languages, legends, songs, and fables of the interesting races with whom I now came in contact under circumstances that might not seem to be favourable to the accomplishment of my task. I had been warned by the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, Sir Donald McLeod, whose like we have not seen again, not to cross the frontier, as the tribes beyond were supposed to be cannibals; but as I could not get the information of which I was in search within our frontier, I had to cross it. My followers were frightened off by all sorts of wild stories, till our party was reduced from some fifty to three, including myself. The reason for all this was, that the Maharaja was afraid that I should find out and report his breach of the Treaty by which we sold Kashmîr to him in 1846, and in which the Indus is laid down as his boundary on the west. In 1866, therefore, at any rate, even the tenure of Gilgit, which is on the other side of the Indus, was contested and illegal, whilst the still more distant Hunza and Nagyr had more than once inflicted serious punishment on the Kashmîr

troops that sought to invade districts that have preserved their autonomy during the last fourteen centuries, as was admitted by *The Times* of the 2nd November, 1891, before its present change with the times, if an unintentional pun may be permitted.

Then, as ever, the Anglo-Indian newspapers spoke of Russian intrigues in those regions. I am perfectly certain that if, instead of the fussiness of our statesmen and the sensationalism of our journals, the languages, history, and relations of these little-known races had been studied by them, we should never have heard of Russia in that part of the East. It is also not by disingenuousness and short cuts on maps or in diplomacy, but by *knowledge*, that physical, ethnographical, and political problems are to be solved; nor will the bold and brilliant robberies of Russia be checked by our handing over the inhabitants of the supposed "cradle of the human race" to Affghan, Kashmîr, or Chinese usurpations. Above all, it is a loss of time to palm off myths as history in order to suit the policy or conceal the ignorance of the moment.

Just as little as Darwaz and Karategin are ancestral dominions of Bokhara, and, therefore, under Russian influence, so little did even Badakhshan, and much less so, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, ever really belong to Affghanistan. As for the Chinese hold on Turkistan, we ourselves denied it when we coquetted with Yakub Khush Begi, though Kitái was ever the acknowledged superior of Eastern Turkistan. If Hunza admits any allegiance, it is to China, and not to Kashmîr; and the designations of offices of rule in that country are of Chinese, and not of Aryan origin, including even "Thàm," the title of its Raja.

As a matter of fact, however, the vast number of tribes that inhabit the many countries between the Indus and the Kuner own no master except their own tribal head or the tribal council. From kidnapping Hunza, where the right to plunder is monarchical, hereditary, and "ayeshó" = "heaven-born," to the peace and learning of republican Kandîá or





DR. LEITNER'S TIBET DOG, "CHANG."

Gabrial, all want to be left alone. If a neighbour becomes troublesome, he is raided on till an interchange of presents restores harmony. It is impossible to say that either side is tributary to the other. The wealthier gives the larger present; the bigger is considered the superior in a general sort of way, and so two horses, two dogs, and a handful of gold dust are yearly sent by Hunza to Kashmir or to Yarkand as a cloak for much more substantial exactions in return. Nagyr sends a basket of apricots instead of the horses and dogs. In 1871 Chitrál still paid a tribute to Badakhshan in slaves, but it would be absurd to infer from this fact that Chitrál ever acknowledged the suzerainty of Jehandar Shah, or of the Affghan faction that dispossessed him. Nor were the Khaibaris, or other highway robbers, our rulers, because we paid them blackmail, or they our subjects because they might bring us "sweetmeats."

The points in which most Englishmen are as deficient as Russians are generally proficient, are language and a sympathetic manner with natives. That, however, linguistic knowledge is not useless may be inferred from the fact that it enabled me, to use the words of my Chief, Commissary General H. S. Jones, C.B., during the Russian War in 1855, "to pass unharmed through regions previously unknown and among tribes hitherto unvisited by any European."

Also in topography and geography linguistics are necessary; and the absurd mistakes now made at certain learned societies and in certain scientific journals, regarding the Pamirs, would be avoided by a little study of the Oriental languages concerned. In 1866, the map which accompanies my philological work on "Dardistan" shows, on linguistic grounds, and on the basis of native itineraries, the various Pamirs that have been partially revealed within the last few weeks, or have been laboriously ascertained by expensive Russian and British expeditions between 1867 and 1890. The publication of my material, collected at my own expense and which shall no longer be delayed, would have saved many complications; but when, *e.g.*, I pointed out,

in 1866, that the Indus, after leaving Bunji, ran west instead of south, as on the then existing maps, I got into trouble with the Topographical Survey, which "discovered" the fact through its well-known "Mulla" in 1876. The salvation of India that is not made "departmentally" is crucified ; and whoever does not belong to the regular military or civil services has no business to know or to suggest. Mr. Curzon, when presiding at a meeting of the late Oriental Congress, assured us that a new era had risen ; but only the other night, at the Royal Geographical Society, a complaint was made of the reluctance of official departments in giving the Society information. As a rule, the mysteriousness of offices only conceals their ignorance, of which we have an instance in Capt. Younghusband being sent to shut the passes after the Russians had already stolen a march on, or through, them.

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The neutralization of the Pamirs is the only solution of a difficulty created by the conjectural treaties of diplomatists and the ambition of military emissaries. Left as a huge happy hunting-ground for sportsmen, or as pasturage for nomads from whatever quarter, the Pamirs form the most perfect "neutral zone" conceivable. That the wanderings of these nomads should be accompanied by territorial or political claims, whether by Russia, China, Affghanistan, Kashmir, or ourselves, is the height of absurdity. As for Hunza-Nagyr, the sooner they are left to themselves the better for us, who are not bound to help Kashmir in encroaching on them. Kashmir managed them very fairly after 1848 ; and when it was occasionally defeated, its prestige did not suffer, for the next summer invariably found the tribal envoys again suing for peace and presents. The sooner the Gilgit Agency is withdrawn, the greater will be our reputation for fair dealing. Besides, we can take hostages from the Chiefs' families as guarantees of future tranquillity. Hunza-Nagyr are certainly not favourable to Russia, whilst Nagyr is decidedly friendly to us. The sensational account of

Colonel Grambcheffsky's visit to Hunza, which he places on his map where Nagyr is, seems to be one of the usual traps to involve us in great military expenditure and to alienate the tribes from us. It is also not creditable that, for party or personal purposes, the peaceful and pious Nagyris,—whom our own Gilgit Resident, Colonel Biddulph, has reported on as distinguished for "timidity and incapacity for war," "never having joined the Hunza raids," "slavery being unknown in Nagyr,"—should be described as "kidnappers," "raiders along with Hunza," "slave-dealers," "robbers," and "scoundrels,"—statements made by a correspondent from Gilgit in a morning newspaper of to-day, and to all of which I give an unqualified contradiction.

The establishment of the Gilgit Agency has already drawn attention to the shortest road for the invasion of India ; and it is significant that its advocate at Gilgit should admit that all the tribes of the Indus Valley "sympathized with the Hunzas," from whose depredations they are erroneously supposed to have suffered, and that they were likely "to attack the British from behind by a descent on the Gilgit road" to Kashmir. Why should "the only other exit from Gilgit by way of the Indus Valley be through territories held by tribes hostile to the British"? Have the Gilgit doings already alienated the poor, but puritanical Chilásis, tributaries of Kashmir, who adjoin our settled British district of Kaghan? Are we to dread the Republic of Muhammadan learning, Kandíá, that has not a single fort; pastoral Dareyl; the Koli-Palus traders; agricultural Tangir, and other little Republics—one only of eleven houses? As for the places beyond them, our officials at Attock, Peshawur, Rawalpindi, and Abbottabad will deal with the Pathan tribes in their own neighbourhood, which have nothing to do with the adjoining Republics of quiet, brave, and intelligent Dards, on both sides of the Indus, up to Gilgit, to which I have referred, and which deserve our respectful study, sympathy, and unobtrusive support.

G. W. LEITNER.

16th December, 1891.



The following account, published by Reuter's Telegram Company, will supplement the preceding article:—

“WOKING, Dec. 13.

“A representative of Reuter's Agency interviewed Dr. Leitner at his residence at Woking to-day, with the object of eliciting some information on the subject of the Hunza and Nagyr tribes, with whom the British forces are at present in conflict.

“Dr. Leitner, it is needless to say, is the well-known discoverer of the races and languages of Dardistan (the country between Kabul and Kashmir), which he so named when sent on a linguistic mission by the Punjab Government in 1864, at a time when the various independent tribes, including Hunza and Nagyr, had united in order to turn the troops of the Maharaja of Kashmir out of Gilgit. At that time it was considered that the treaty of 1846, by which Great Britain sold Kashmir to the Maharaja, had confined him to the Indus as his westward boundary, and had therefore rendered his occupation of Gilgit an encroachment and breach of treaty.

“Dr. Leitner, although the country was in a state of war, which is not favourable to scientific research, managed to collect a mass of information, and a fine ethnographical collection, which is at the museum at Woking. He has also made many friends in the country, and is doubtless the highest, if not the only, authority regarding these countries.

“Dr. Leitner, who was quite unprepared for to-day's visit, said that the relations which he had kept up with the natives of Gilgit, Hunza, Nagyr, and Yasin forced him to the conclusion that a conflict had been entered into which might have easily been avoided by a little more sympathy and knowledge, especially of the Nagyr people. Indeed, it was not a light matter that could have induced the venerable chief of Nagyr to make common cause with his hereditary foe of Hunza, unless he feared that the British threatened their respective independence.

“Not many weeks ago Dr. Leitner received a letter from the chief of Nagyr, in which he recommended to his kind attention his son, now in Kashmir, on the ground that he, even more so than any other member of his numerous family, was a well-wisher to the British Government. At that time the chief could not have had any feelings of animosity, although he might have protested, together with his rival of Hunza, against the British occupation of Chalt. In fact, it was not true that Nagyr and Hunza were really subject to Kashmir, except in the vague way in which these States constantly recognised the suzerainty of a neighbouring power in the hope of getting substantial presents for their offerings of a few ounces of gold dust, a couple of dogs, or basket of apricots, etc. Thus Chitrál, the ally of Great Britain, used to pay a tribute of slaves to the Ameers of Badakshan; but it would be absurd on that ground to render Chitrál a part of Afghanistan, because Badakshan now, in a manner, belongs to Abdurrahman. Hunza, again, sends a tribute to China; and, in a general way, China is the only Power that ever had a shadow of claim on these countries, but it is a mere shadow. Dr. Leitner said, the only policy for Great Britain is, in the words of the Secretary of State or Viceroy, ‘to maintain and strengthen all the indigenous Governments.’ This policy he would extend to the triangle which has Peshawur for its base, and thereby interpose a series of almost impregnable mountainous countries, which would be sufficiently defended by the independence of their inhabitants. If Circassia could oppose Russia for thirty years, even although Russia had the command of the Black Sea, how much more effective would be the resistance of the innumerable Circassias which Providence had placed between ourselves and the Russian frontier in Asia? We ought to have made these tribes look upon us as a distant but powerful friend, ready to help them in an emergency; but now, by attacking two of them, we caused Russia to be looked upon as the coming Saviour; indeed, the people of Wakhan, on the Pamir side of Hunza, were already doing so, whilst Shignan and Roshan, which had been almost depopulated by our friends, the Afghans, had already begun to emigrate into Russian territory. Here Dr. Leitner added that the Russian claims through Bokhara were as illusory as those of Kashmir, and historically even less founded than those of China. Indeed, no one had a right to these countries except the indigenous peoples and chiefs who inhabited them; and in this scramble for the regions round the Pamir, great Britain was simply breaking down her natural defences by stamping out the independence of native tribes and making military roads; for it was the absence of those roads on the British side that rendered it impossible to an invader to do England any real harm or to advance on India proper.

Asked why the trouble had broken out at the present time, Dr. Leitner said, that he had been kept without information of the immediate cause, but he felt certain that it was owing to the attempt to construct a military road to Hunza, whereby England would only facilitate the advent of a possible invader from that direction, besides making Hunza throw in its lot with that invader. It was perfectly untrue, as alleged in some of the Indian papers, that the Nagyris were kidnappers, and that our attack would be an advantage to the cause of anti-slavery. The fact was just the other way. Kidnapping had been stopped in 1869 as far as Hunza was concerned.

The Nagyris never raided at all; Chitrál also gave up selling its Káfir or Shiah subjects into slavery when the markets of Badakshan were closed; but now that confusion had caused the English and Russian advance, Hunza had again taken to raiding, and Chitrál to selling slaves. As for Nagyr, the case was quite different; they were an

excellent people and very quiet, so much so that Colonel Biddulph, the Resident, described them as "noted for timidity and incapacity for war," whereas in his "Tribes of the Hindu Kush" he also states that the people of Hunza are not warlike in the sense in which the Afghans are said to be so. No doubt the Nagyris dislike war, but would fight bravely if driven to do so. Colonel Biddulph adds: "They are settled agricultural communities, proud of the independence they have always maintained for fourteen centuries, hemmed in by lofty mountains, and living under rulers who boast of long, unbroken descent from princes of native blood." He also bears testimony to the fact that "the Nagyr people were never concerned in these raids, and slavery does not exist among them." At the same time Dr. Leitner fully admitted that the Hunza people were not a model race, since they used to be desperate raiders and kidnappers, and very immoral and impious. The father of the present king used to dance in a state of drunkenness in the mosque; but, on the other hand, we were not bound to be the reformers of Hunza by pulling down one of the bulwarks to our Indian Empire. Hunza was a picturesque country in every sense; it was nominally governed by fairies; ecstatic women were the prophetesses of the tribe, recounted its past glories, and told what was going on in the neighbouring valleys, so they were its historians and journalists as well as its prophetesses. No war was undertaken unless the fairies gave their consent, and the chief fairy, Yuden, who protects the "Tham" (a Chinese title), has no doubt already struck the sacred drum in order to call the men of the country to defend the "Heaven-born," as their chief is called. The two "Thams" of Hunza and Nagyr, who have a common ancestry, are also credited with the power of causing rain, and there would certainly appear to be some foundation for this remarkable fact.

The two tribes are great polo players; archery on horseback is common amongst them; and they are very fair ibex hunters.

The people of Nagyr are as pious and gentle as those of Hunza are the contrary. Their language went back to simple sounds as indicative of a series of human relations or experiences, and clearly showed that the customs and associations of a race were at the basis of so-called rules of grammar. Nothing more wonderful than their language could be conceived; it went to the root of human thought as expressed in language, but the language had already suffered by foreign influences between 1866, when one son of the Rajah of Nagyr taught him, and 1886, when another son of the Rajah continued his lessons.

As regards religion, the Hunzas are Mulais, a mysterious and heretical sect, akin to the Druses of the Lebanon, practising curious rites, and practically infidels. He had obtained a few pages of their secret Bible, the Kelam-i-pir, which throws much light on the doctrines of the so-called "assassins" during the Crusades. The Nagyris are pious Muhammadans of the Shiah denomination.

Dr. Leitner then showed the map accompanying his linguistic work on Dardistan. After comparing it with the most recent Russian and British maps, that of Dr. Leitner gives the fullest and clearest information, not only as regards Hunza-Nagyr, where all the places where fighting has occurred are marked, but also as regards the various Pamirs, thus anticipating in 1866 on linguistic grounds and native itineraries the different Pamirs that have recently been settled geographically. It shows that the ethnographical frontier of the Pamirs to the north are the Turki-speaking nomads of the trans-Altai range (now Russian); to the west the Persian, or Tajiks (now Afghan); to the south the Aryan Hindu Kush [British]; and to the east the wall of the Serikol Mountains, dividing or admitting Chinese, Tibetan, or Mongolian influence. The indeterminate river courses through the Pamir, or a line stretched across its plateaux, valleys, and mountains, are obviously an unmaintainable demarcation, which is liable to be transgressed by shepherds under whatever rule; but the whole of the Pamirs together, as a huge and happy hunting-ground, are, no doubt, if neutralized by the three Powers concerned, the best possible frontier, as "no man's land," and a perfect neutral zone. "What matter," continued Dr. Leitner, "if the passes are easy of access on the Russian side, it is on the descent, and on the ascent on our side that almost insuperable difficulties begin. Where we are now fighting in Hunza-Nagyr only the low state of the river which divides Hunza from Nagyr enables us to make a simultaneous advance on both. Otherwise we should have to let ourselves man by man down from one ledge of rock to another, and if we miss our footing be whirled away in the most terrible torrent the imagination can conceive. Why, then, destroy such a great defence in our favour if Hunza is kept friendly, as it so easily can be, especially with the pressure exercised on it by the Nagyris, whose forts frown on those of Hunza all down the river that separates their countries? I cannot conceive anything more wanton or suicidal than the present advance, even if we should succeed in removing one of the most important landmarks in the history of the human race by shooting down the handful of Nagyris and Hunzas that oppose us. They preserve the pre-historic remnants of legends and customs that explain much that is still obscure in the life and history of European races. A few hundred pounds a year judiciously spent and the promise of the withdrawal of the Gilgit Agency, which was already once before attacked when under Colonel Biddulph, would be a far better way of securing peace than shooting down with Gatlings and Martini-Henry rifles people who defend their independence within their crags with bows, arrows, battleaxes, and a few muskets; and the promise of the withdrawal of the Gilgit Agency might be made con-

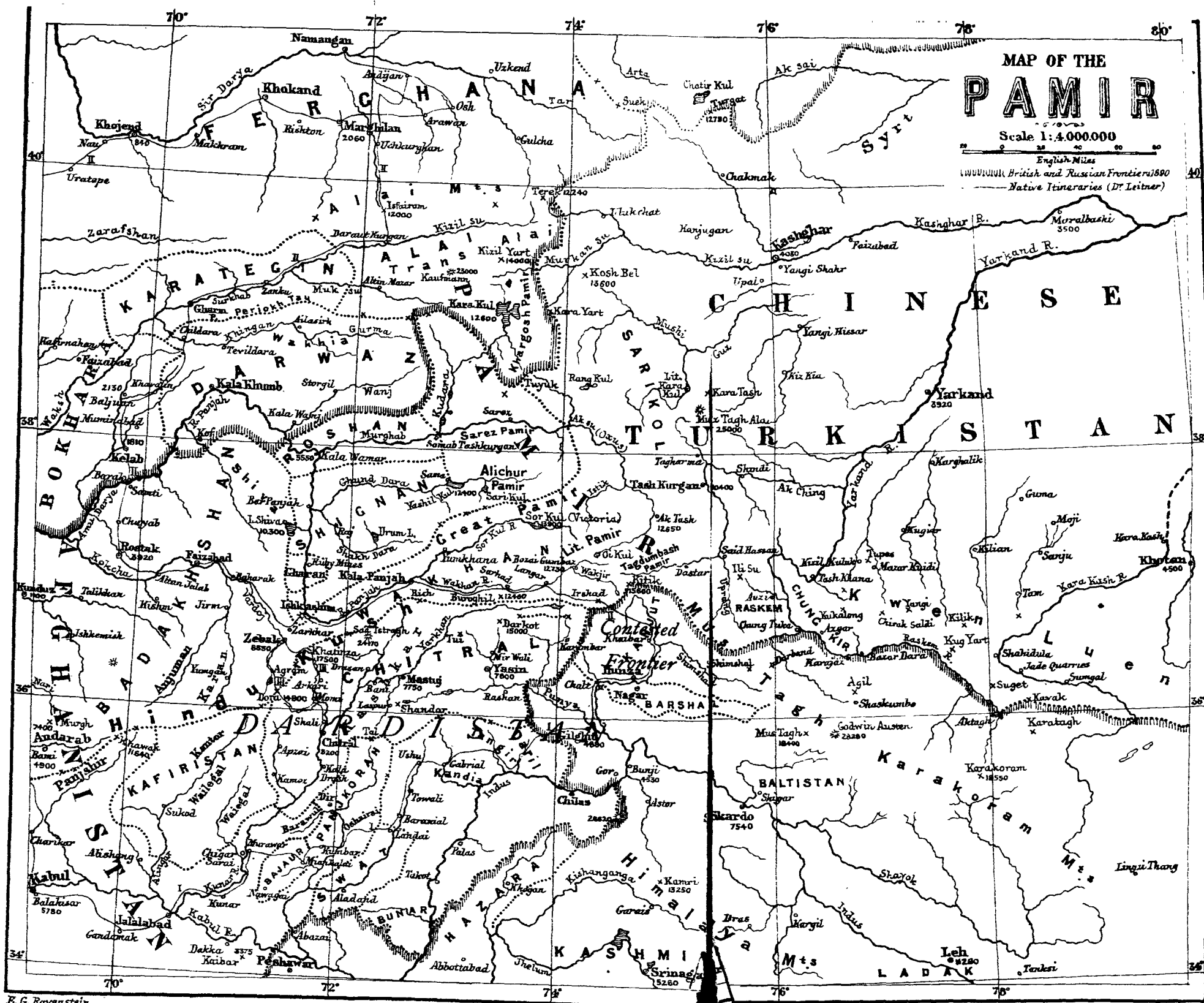
tingent upon the increase of the number of hostages belonging to the chiefs' families that are now annually sent to Kashmir as a guarantee of friendly relations.

The Hunzas and Nagyris are not to be despised as foes; they are very good marksmen. In 1886, when the Kashmir troops thought they had cleared the plain before the Gilgit Fort entirely of enemies, and not a person was to be seen outside it, the tribesmen would glide along the ground unperceived behind a stone pushed in front of them, and resting their old flint muskets on them shoot off the Maharajah's Sepoys whenever they showed themselves outside the fort. Indeed, it was this circumstance that induced Dr. Leitner to abandon the protection of the fort and make friends with the tribesmen outside. All the tribes desired was to be left alone in their mountain fastnesses. They had sometimes internecine feuds, but would unite against the common foe. It was merely emasculating their powers of resistance to subject them, either on the one side to Bokhara, which meant Russia, or to Afghanistan or Kashmir, which meant Great Britain, or to China, which meant dependence on a Power that might be utilized any day against Great Britain after the completion of the trans-Siberian railway. Diplomats, frontier delimitation commissions, and officers, both British and Russian, anxious for promotion, had, continued Dr. Leitner, created the present confusion; and it was now high time to rely rather on the physical obstacles that guaranteed the safety alike of the British, Russian, and Chinese frontiers than on the chapter of political accidents.

Dr. Leitner, who is going to give a lecture at the Westminster Town-hall to-morrow afternoon on "The Races, Religions, and Politics of the Pamir Regions," then showed our representative Col. Grambcheffsky's map, which put Hunza where Nagyr ought to be, and ignored the latter place altogether, just as did the last map of the Geographical Society in connection with Mr. Littledale's tour. Grambcheffsky's map, however, had since been corrected by evidently an English map, and it was strange that Russians had easier access to English maps than Englishmen themselves. In fact, all this secrecy, Dr. Leitner maintained, was injurious to the acquisition of full knowledge regarding imperfectly known regions. Attention was then directed to a number of maps, that of Mr. Drew, a Kashmir official, showing Hunza-Nagyr to be beyond Kashmir influence. This was practically confirmed by several official maps and the statements of Colonels Biddulph and Hayward, the latter of whom placed the Kashmir frontier towards Hunza at Nomal, whilst the British are now fighting sixteen and a half miles beyond in front of Mayun, where the first Hunza fort is. The Nagyr frontier Dr. Leitner places at Jaglot, which is nineteen miles from Nilt, where we are simultaneously fighting the first Nagyr fort.

Dr. Leitner, in conclusion, expressed his conviction, from his knowledge of the people concerned, that any one with a sympathetic mind could get them to do anything in reason; but that encroachments, whether overt or covert, would be resisted to the utmost. Indeed, England's restlessness had brought on the present trouble.

In 1866, he stated, the very name of Russia was unknown in these parts, and in 1886 was only known to a few. Yet the English Press in both these years spoke of Russian intrigues among the tribes. He did not fear them as long as the Indian Empire relied on its natural defences, its inner strength, and on justice to its chiefs and people, and as long as its policy with the tribes was guided by knowledge and good feeling.



MAP OF THE  
**PAMIR**  
Scale 1:4,000,000  
English Miles  
British and Russian Frontiers 1890  
Native Itineraries (Dr. Leitner)



## DARWAZ AND KARATEGIN :

### AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

LOOKING southwards from the citadel of Kokan, over the dark green plains of Fergana, the snowy ranges of the Alai mountains are seen on the horizon, their tall white summits marked out like lace against the sapphire sky.

The country beyond Alai, limited eastward by the heights of the Pamir, is held between the two mighty arms of the Oxus, the Kyzyl-Su to the north, and the Pyanj to the south.\* The territory, drained by these two great rivers, slopes westward from the lofty glaciers and icy peaks of the Pamirs, descending gradually to the plains and desert wastes of Bokhara. It is seamed by huge granite ridges, towering up into the eternal snows, from whose margins mountain-torrents descend through the slate and clay of the valleys, to swell the waters of the Pyanj and Kyzyl-Su. The Kyzyl-Su bears various names, alluding to its ruddy stream, being called also Surkh-ab, the Red River; and, on its lower waters, Vaksh, under which name it joins the Pyanj at Sarai-Katagon, in the Bekdom of Kurgan-Tyupet†; thence the united streams flow west toward the Sea of Aral, under the names of Oxus, Amu Darya, or Jai-Khun. The Kyzyl-Su and Pyanj rivers are walled off from each other by the Darwaz Mountains, running almost due east and west, and dividing the waters northward to the Kyzyl-Su and southward to the Pyanj.

The Bekdom of DARWAZ stretches southwards from the Darwaz mountains, across the Pyanj, to the highlands of Badakhshan, with a breadth varying between forty and eighty miles. Eastward, Darwaz is bounded by Roshan-Shugnan; and westward, by the Bekdoms of Kulyab (Koláb) and Baljuan, its greatest length being about 270 miles. Darwaz is divided into two wide valleys, the valley of the Pyanj to the south, and that of the Khing-ab—a

\* Our "Kizil-Su" and "Panj." † Tépé.

tributary of the Kyzyl-Su—on the north. Some of the streams of Darwaz, the Khing-ab, the Sagrydasht, the Yazilon and the Kufau, bring down fine grains and flakes of gold, sought for amongst the broken conglomerate of the banks by the Darwazan mountaineers; the Khing-ab has also layers of sulphur, and the river Vanch, a tributary of the Pyanj, supplies rich deposits of iron ore.

Trees and vegetation generally are very scarce in all the mountain Bekdoms, including Darwaz; here and there a birch, sycamore, wild apple, pear, or silver poplar breaks the monotony of the wild scenery; and, in the villages of the mountaineers, apricots, plums, pears, and cherries are common enough, with, more rarely, a few carefully tended vines. Barbary-bushes, white thorn, and almonds are occasionally met with; but vegetation in general is so scarce that almost the only fuel is cow-dung. There is, however, a rich zone of grass along the rivers, especially on the banks of the Khing-ab in Darwaz, to which great herds of cattle are driven for the summer pasturage from Hissar, Baljuan, Kulyab, and Boisun. The summer pasturage lasts from the middle of May till the middle of September, when vast flocks of sheep gather along the Khing-ab, while herds of horned cattle and horses graze in the valley of Dasht-Bidon, below the junction of the Khing-ab and Kyzyl-Su.

The horses are large, big-boned, and broad-nosed, and are sought after by merchants from Bokhara and Samarkand, who buy them from the mountaineers for strips of calico and cotton, combs, mirrors, bracelets, and necklaces, the price of a good horse being from £2 to £4.

The merchants drive their herds by the old roads across the mountains, reaching Karategin and Baljuan by the Nurak bridge across the Surkh-ab (Kyzyl-Su), or descending to Bokhara through Hissar-Pirshad. At these two points a toll is levied upon the herds, at the rate of about sixpence for a horse, threepence a head for horned cattle, and a penny for a sheep; the sum realized every year being about £6,000.

The absence of trees, the severity of the winter, lasting from the middle of September till May, the temperature often reaching 35° C. of cold, especially during the season of storms, and the rugged, inhospitable mountains, all act together to produce a wild, hardy people, full of the rugged power of the nature around them. Their mountains give shelter to leopards, brown bears, wolves, foxes, wild sheep and goats, boars, and hares, whose skins are sent to Bokhara, Afghanistan, and India.

Birds are scarcer ; a few jackdaws and rock pigeons nest among the mountains ; and in the villages are sometimes found peacocks, brought from India.

KARATEGIN lies to the north of Darwaz, and occupies the narrow valley of the Kyzyl-Su, running along both sides of the river for about 230 miles. In climate and natural conditions, Karategin is much like Darwaz, though perhaps rather more fertile, especially along the river banks.

Darwaz and Karategin, both by their position behind the Alai and Altai mountains, and by their rugged, inhospitable climate and six-months snow-bound winter, have been shut off from the migrations and raids which spread again and again over Turkestan. The Arab, Mongol, Turk, and Uzbek tribes, who successively dominated Central Asia, have never found a footing in Darwaz and Karategin, where the aboriginal population remains almost intact. The history of these two Bekdoms is, briefly, as follows :—Almost the earliest notice of their existence we have, is the fact that for a brief period Darwaz was subject to the Bokharan Khan, Abdulla Khan, who reigned from 1538 to 1597 of our era ; and to his son Kyrgiz-Khan, who named his residency in Darwaz Kaloi-Kumb, from a *Kumb*, or jar of granite, supposed to have been left by Alexander the Great. Darwaz, which did not fulfil Abdulla Khan's expectations of mineral wealth, soon succeeded in casting off the Bokharan yoke, and from that time was harassed by intrigues between opposing parties of indigenous Shahs, who alternately seized the citadel of Kolai-Kumb. The Darwaz Shahs at various



times managed to subjugate Karategin, Baljuan, Shugnan, and Roshan, in which similar intrigues were constantly carried on. This state of things went on till about twenty-five years ago, when Ismail Shah succeeded in not only subjugating Karategin and Shugnan, but even, for a time, Hissar and Kulyab. In trying to push his dominion still further to the west, Ismail Shah was taken prisoner by Sary Khan, the ruler of Kulyab, and Darwaz lost not only Karategin, but even its own provinces on the Khing-ab (Vahia and Kulyas). Then the Khan of Darwaz sought the protection of Bokhara, and became the vassal of the Bokharan Emir. Subsequently Hissar and Kulyab, in 1868, and Karategin, in 1869, came under the power of Bokhara, and were occupied by the Emir's troops in 1877. At present, Darwaz is governed by a Bek, who has his headquarters at Kolai-Kumb, and is supported by a battalion of Bokharan infantry (Sarbazis).

At the present time the Darwazans are making frequent raids into the territories of Pyanj, Khing-ab, Surkh-ab, and Shugnan, to supply the slave markets of Bokhara. With the power of Bokhara, a thin veneering of Mussulmanism was introduced into Darwaz and Karategin; and the Bokharans have made the wives of the mountaineers wear the *chashban*, or horse-hair veil. But in spite of these innovations, the life of the mountaineers remains almost exactly the same as it was a thousand years ago.

M. G. A. Arandarenko, a member of the Turkestan administration, who recently visited Darwaz and Karategin, has published a very interesting account \* of the life and customs of the mountaineers of the two Bekdoms, from which I have extracted the following details. "The mountaineer," writes M. Arandarenko, "is the child of wild, fierce nature. His type, his character, and conception of life, reflect the influence of the physical characteristics of the country, with which he has to wage a perpetual war, and to which he is compelled to adapt himself. Driven

\* St. Petersburg. 1889.

hither by unknown historical events, probably religious persecutions, the old aborigines of Central Asia have not lost even now the typical character of the old Persian tribes. The mountaineers must by no means be considered half-breed Tajiks, whose representatives, the inhabitants of Khodjent, Urgut, and other settlements in Turkestan, are sharply separated from the Karategin and, even more, the Darwaz mountaineers, not only in type, but also in the structure of their language, which has become so much differentiated among the mountains, that the inhabitants of Central Darwaz hardly understand the pure Persian speech of Karategin, comprehend with difficulty the Vanch mountaineers, and are quite unable to understand the speech of the neighbouring Shugnan.

“The type of the mountaineers of Darwaz and Karategin is very similar : dusky skin ; straight, thick, black, red, or brown hair ; eyes, black or light-brown ; features, regular and expressive, with an open, perpendicular, or low forehead, and straight nose ; generally above middle height, with powerful physique, well-developed chest, powerful muscles, and fine calves ; well-knit frames, often thin, but always strong. We also saw a number of women in Darwaz and Karategin, and many of them were very handsome.

“The character of the country, the Alpine climate, with its chilly summer and extremely cold winter, when the snow is often twenty feet deep, with its frequent rain-storms, have habituated the mountaineer to a confined laborious life, which, in turn, has attached him thoroughly to his native land ; and has endowed him with a patient, taciturn, though kindly character, a strong will, great endurance and courage, as well as the capacity of travelling from fifty to eighty miles a day across the mountains, carrying a leather sack of provisions on his back, or a package weighing a hundred pounds.

“This capacity for mountain travelling arose of course from the necessity of reaching the ledges and terraces of the mountains to sow their corn ; from the necessity of climbing for weeks among the ravines and precipices in pursuit of wild

sheep, mountain goats, and bears ; and from the necessity of travelling hundreds of miles during the winter to Kulyab, Hissar, Kokan, and even Bokhara, for winter work, from the proceeds of which—some £2 or £4—the mountaineer will buy cotton stuffs, kerchiefs for his wife, flour, and salt.

“ If you ask one of these mountaineers, wintering in Bokhara, why he does not bring his family there, as life is better, and money more easily gained, you receive this answer : ‘ We know that, in Bokhara and Samarkand, life is better, there is arable land, and rice, and sheep bigger than ours ; but still our sweet home (*shirin volon*) is dear to us ; and when we have to live in Bokhara we feel it wearisome, like a prison (*zindon*), and we are in a hurry to return.’

“ Everywhere in Darwaz and Karategin arable and irrigated land is held in full possession by the owner, while pasture belongs to the whole village in common.

“ The density of the population in both Darwaz and Karategin shows that civilized life has been long established here ; and agriculture has occupied every space that can be reached by a plough, up to the height of 9,000 feet ; still, the holdings in general are small. Land is very scarce in the south of Darwaz, on the Pyanj River. The produce here is so limited that it does not suffice for the wants of the inhabitants ; and the mountaineers, instead of wheat and barley flour, use a flour made from the mulberry, or from the root of the wild *tatarok*, resembling a turnip in taste ; while the Bokharan battalion quartered in Kolai-Kumb receive supplies of grain from Vahia or Karategin, where the tilled land is comparatively more extensive.

“ In both Karategin and Darwaz, agriculture is possible only during the summer months ; ploughing and sowing take place in May, and the harvest is reaped in September.

“ In Karategin there are about 500 villages, with 10,000 houses, and about 60,000 inhabitants ; in Darwaz, 350 villages, with 6,000 houses, and 40,000 inhabitants.

“ The chase, carried on in the mountains under great

physical difficulties and dangers from the deep snow and the inaccessible rocks, is nevertheless the mountaineer's favourite occupation. Among them it is either carried on in bands (*khalk-shikar*), or by single hunters (*duzy-shikar*)."

The former method of hunting is only practicable in the mountains near the villages, on the appearance of a large herd of wild sheep and goats. In this case, in order to bring home as many as possible, all the young and old men of a village gather together, then divide themselves into parties, and, under the direction of leaders experienced in the chase, surround a large district with their dogs, trying to turn the quarry in the direction of the ambuscade, whose duty it is to shoot the advancing game with matchlocks, at a distance of from forty to eighty paces. If this results in the slaughter of five or six head of game a day, a feast is celebrated by all the villagers, and the feat forms a topic of conversation for months to come. This form of the chase is not so difficult, as it generally lasts only a single day, beginning before sunrise. Much more dangerous and difficult are the expeditions of hunters who start off alone amongst the mountains, carrying on their backs a leather sack of bread, with a few cakes of mulberry flour and a supply of sulphur matches; regardless of the weather and the season, these hunters pierce the mountains for hundreds of miles, following the tracks of bears, leopards, or sheep, which they never miss, firing only at close quarters. In case of speedy success, the hunter drags his game home; but if he only succeeds in shooting a few sheep or goats after several days' pursuit, he buries them, and goes home for help to bring them back.

In case of failure, the mountaineer advances among the mountains, crossing deep snows, and sleeping in burrows or under rocks, for a week or more, as long as his provisions last. A serious danger menaces the hunter, if he comes unexpectedly on a bear while his matchlock is unprimed; or if he misses a leopard, which will attack him without warning, often with a fatal result. Fox-hunting is univer-

sal in Karategin through the autumn and winter ; the mountaineers chase the foxes with dogs, carefully trained not to injure the skins, which sell for about 2s. each. Martens are caught in traps, their skins being worth about 6s. each ; while a leopard skin costs about 4s., and a bear skin, 10s.

Probably about 3,000 foxes, 1,000 martens, 100 bears, 40 leopards, and 1,000 wild sheep and goats are killed in Darwaz and Karategin every year. The pursuit of mountain partridges and of ducks, with falcons, on the banks of the rivers is also common, especially in Karategin and Kulyas on the Khing-ab. Conies, that live together in considerable numbers in burrows at the edge of the snows, also supply a large number of skins for furs and carpets.

The villages of Darwaz and Karategin are situated either on the banks of the great rivers and their tributaries, or in the mountains, almost at the summit of the eternal snows, always on such a declivity that the danger from landslips and avalanches is minimized. The villages are not large, generally containing from ten to a hundred houses ; but the number of the inhabitants of each house is considerable, because amongst the mountaineers the married sons do not leave their father's household, but live together in undivided families. The type of the mountain villages is somewhat different from those in the valleys, having almost the appearance of a single widely-extended dwelling, as the houses of the different families are joined together for better protection against the cold.

" The domestic utensils of a Darwaz or Karategin mountaineer consist of an indispensable iron kettle ; an iron *kungon* for boiling water ; several different sized clay pots for water, or sour milk, and for cooking ; two or three rough clay cups ; bags, culinary and medicinal herbs ; a moderate supply of home-made soap ; a piece of half-tanned leather, used as a baking board ; and a leather sack for provisions—the inseparable companion of the mountaineer in any prolonged absence from home. In the mountaineer's hut you may also find a matchlock, a sword, some thin boards for

crossing crevasses, annular snow-shoes of willow, high wooden pattens for winter, a small, old-fashioned loom, placed in the corner of the room, over a hollow for the weaver's seat, and a supply of five or six pine torches.

"The mountaineer generally marries at about the age of sixteen, and gives his daughters in marriage at about the age of twelve, which is rather early, considering the severity of the climate, as the women grow up more slowly than in warmer regions; but they also grow old more slowly, in spite of the hard circumstances of their lives. Either the parents betroth their daughters in infancy—a custom which gives rise to much litigation in case the girl refuses to accept the chosen bridegroom; or the betrothal takes place when the girl comes of age, without the intervention of the parents.

"Divorce takes place very rarely amongst the mountaineers, and only in case the woman is ill-natured, a bad worker, and unable to live in peace with her husband's other wives.

"The mountaineers of Darwaz and Karategin are Musulmans of the Sunni sect, but they are not very devoted to their religion, and their mosques are often neglected.

"Like all aboriginal, unsophisticated peoples, the character of the mountaineers is marked by a kind-hearted consideration for orphans, quarrelsomeness, obstinate blood-feuds, respect for elders, for the property of others, straightforwardness, faithful adherence to promises, courage in danger, unbounded contempt for cowards, patience, stoical endurance of every privation in the struggle with nature and the course of events, a willing hospitality, and a general readiness to divide even the last crust with any chance guest.

"The mental qualities of the mountaineer find expression in keen powers of observation, a retentive memory, which the Darwaz and Karategin mountaineers manifest especially in knowledge of their genealogies and legends, and in the study of Eastern sciences in the *medreses* of Samarkand and Bokhara, where the sons of the mountaineers always learn the Scriptures, laws, and philosophies of the East more rapidly and better than the natives of the lowlands.

“The conceptions of life held by the mountaineers, coloured by their complete isolation and absence of a correct understanding of the laws of nature, are full of superstition and the fear of evil spirits.

“In Darwaz they know neither the Muhammadan era nor the names of the months, nor the names of the divisions of the world. They consider the sun as the source of life and light; the moon, as the home of the dead; and the pole-star, as the indicator of the way. They consider lightning and thunder as the attempts of the devil to ascend to heaven, when the angels pelt him with fiery stones. Spring and summer are sent by God from Paradise, and autumn and winter from hell; and they believe that the frequent earthquakes that threaten their villages are caused by the souls of sinners writhing in Purgatory.

“The imagination of the mountaineers finds an outlet in songs, stories, fables, and proverbs; in sentimental poems on the joys of flowers, the songs of the love-lorn nightingale, and the family happiness of affectionate doves.”

A word in conclusion. These Bekdoms of Darwaz and Karategin are, as we have seen, tributaries of Bokhara; and it can hardly be doubted, as Bokhara comes more and more under the power of the Tsar, that Darwaz and Karategin will ultimately be absorbed into the Russian Empire. For this reason I have marked them as potentially, if not actually, within the boundary of the Russian protected area in the accompanying map,\* in which, for the sake of completeness, I have also included the Sares, Alichur, Tagdumbash, Khurd, Kalyán, Rangkul, and Khargosh Pamirs, which Russia will probably claim as former vassals of Kokan.

It is startling to note how close the Russian and English boundaries will be,—in one place separated by only thirty-five miles,—should these probabilities become actualities.

CHARLES JOHNSTON,  
Bengal Civil Service.

\* This map has reached us too late for publication.

## THE AGRICULTURE OF THE ARYAN TRIBES IN THE SUB-PAMIRIAN REGION.

IN drawing up an ethnographical map of the Sub-Pamirian region, it becomes clear that the ethnical grouping of races of various anthropological origin has followed a rule determined by the topographical configuration of the country. In fact, the peoples of Aryan origin are shown to hold the high valleys which give access, directly or indirectly, to the Pamirs, whereas the tribes of Turco-Mongol origin hold the plain, and the very high valleys of the Pamirs themselves. The Aryan tribes are all sedentary, and cultivate the soil ; whereas the others are mostly nomads and shepherds in search of pasturages to feed their flocks, in other words, their movable goods. I do not know a single nomad tribe of Aryan origin in Central Asia, except the Tzigans, or Loullis (Mazangués). It is also evident that the Aryan or Iranian tribes of the high valleys have preserved, comparatively speaking, the purity of their racial characteristics, their customs, religious beliefs, and social tendencies. From this standpoint they have an interest of the highest order for the anthropologist or ethnographer. It is among the tribes that inhabit the southern buttresses of the Hindu-kush and the adjacent secondary chains,—tribes of which some may be included in the denomination of DARDS, that Messrs. Leitner, Biddulph, etc., have made their interesting studies on comparative linguistics and ethnography. Though, in the plain, a fertile soil under the vivifying action of abundant water, gives extraordinarily great yields, the wealthy man is not the agriculturist but the nomad, the proprietor of flocks. When the Kirghiz becomes poor—as for instance has been seen in the steppes of the Lower Syr Daria and of Kazolinsk—he reluctantly takes to agriculture. The Turcoman *Barantas* of the Tekkés of Akhal and Merv were undertaken for the most part, and with the



greatest ardour, by the sedentary agricultural class, which were less rich than the nomads, and were more forced to enrich themselves by the sale of kidnapped Persians. The agriculture, which might be called "Aryan," of the Sub-Pamirian regions is, mostly, little remunerative. It demands constant effort and considerable labour. The climatic conditions in which it exerts itself, and the land it employs, are not very favourable to the normal development of the cultured produce which man entrusts to them. The highest altitude at which I have found the soil sown with cereals does not exceed 10,500 feet. Elsewhere, as in Tibet, man cultivates the soil at still higher altitudes, but he also finds there more propitious conditions. Nearly all the valleys of the Sub-Pamirian region are very narrow, and are fed by torrent-like and intermittent streams or rivers. Such are, for instance, the Panj, the Yarkhanna, the Kunar, the Yasin, the Bartang, the Zarafshan, the Yagnau, etc.

Almost all these narrow valleys have received, during the quaternary geological period, deposits of conglomerate or of ancient alluvia, in which the actual river has cut itself a, generally, very deep bed. The results are unilateral or bilateral terraces of feeble width, on which, thanks to a more rapid process of exhaustion and of kaolinization, to a lightening of the deeper soil, cultivated lands may be established. As their greater part does not depend on the possibility of irrigating them by means of canals derived from a water-course, but are fed by rainfall, the difference of level with the river does not enter into consideration, contrary to what takes place in the plain, without estival rains. These cultivated lands, called "bagarra," are seen, *inter alios*, among the Yagnaons of the Kohistan, and among the Wakhis of the high valley. Elsewhere, *e.g.* among the Chitrális and the Yakhunis, cultivation is almost everywhere established on the cones of deflection of streams, rivulets, and torrents, the lateral affluents of the principal artery. These more recent alluvia form Deltas ever-growing in surface by new additions, and their fertility is easily

stimulated by the artificial irrigation accorded by the very stream which has deposited them. The greater part of the villages of Chitrál are thus installed on a fertile Delta.

As the disposal of the soil permits the formation of slightly raised terraces, the abundance of water joined to climatic conditions renders possible even the troublesome cultivation of rice. Rice fields are frequent at Drassoune Mastoudi, and in the neighbourhood of Chitrál. When there is a want of the natural soil, lightened alluvia, cones of defection, one can occasionally see the sedentary Aryan entirely create his cultivated field by his bodily bringing to it the earth to which he wishes to confide the seed. This is how the Siah-Posh Kafirs often proceed, one of the most ancient Aryan tribes of the Hindukush, as also the so-called Tájiks of the mountains. The tillage of the soil is very trying at these altitudes; the primitive plough, a simple piece of bent wood, whether armed with a plough-share or not, is employed concurrently with the spade; but neither the ploughing nor the digging is deep.

The cereals cultivated almost exclusively by the tribes of the high valleys are: wheat, barley, and beans; further, flax and common kitchen-produce, like carrots, turnips, and even melons, wherever the climate permits it. It is curious to see the bean (*Faba vulgaris*, L.) reappear among the mountaineers. They call it "bockala,"\* on the two slopes of the Pamir, whilst it is not found cultivated in the plain. This plant, indeed, is very hardy, and replaces the other less resisting legumina, just as buckwheat often replaces elsewhere the ordinary more exacting cereals. The greater part of our fruit-trees grow in the valleys up to variable altitudes. In the protected and warm valleys up to 2,500 feet, the apricot tree in abundance furnishes a precious nourishment. The fruit is dried for winter consumption. The pomegranate and the fig-tree are already found in the fields of Drassoune, above Chitrál.

Cattle-breeding is an indispensable compensation for the

\* The "bakla" of Turkey.—Ed.

meagre produce of the land in the high valleys. The sheep, the goat, the ox, the yák, are met especially on the extreme limit of the cultivated lands, thus profiting by the pasturages situated above (*en amont*). The produce of the flocks and cattle aid the native to live and to clothe himself. In short, the love of the soil, this passion of the agriculturist, is developed to an extraordinary degree in the poor Aryan mountaineer of the Sub-Pamirian region. When one sees him hold obstinately to his little patch of land, of which he has at last succeeded in making a cultivated field ; when, sometimes at considerable distances from his village, one finds him toiling with an ardour that no obstacle can rebut, then one can understand the profound and characteristic difference of racial propensity between the Aryan and the Turko-Mongolian in Central Asia.

GUILLAUME CAPUS.

## MILITARY OBJECTIONS TO THE HUNTERIAN SPELLING OF "INDIAN" WORDS.

THE present time seems to be opportune for a few remarks on a subject which has not yet received much attention in Great Britain, but which is of far greater importance than many that have from time to time occupied the public attention.

The pronunciation of "Indian" words has always been a difficulty with people who have not studied Oriental languages; indeed, there are not a few who have lived long in the East, and who can read and write more than one Eastern language well, but who are utterly unable to pronounce many of the most common words correctly. And who is there that has not heard, from some one reading aloud from a newspaper or a book, the exclamation, uttered partly in anger and partly in shame: "Oh, here is one of those horrid Indian names, how *do* you pronounce it?" Surely that is not as it should be.

Up to within the last ten or twelve years, there was never any officially recognised system for the transliteration of Hindoostanee, that is to say, of the generally accepted colloquial language of British India, which in that country is known as "Oordoo;" but during the time that Dr. W. W. Hunter was a member of the Vice-regal Council, the subject was so persistently and so urgently pressed by him on the notice of the Government of India, that at last definite orders were issued regarding the manner in which the names of people and places should be spelt in official correspondence. These orders are believed to have been based upon rules drawn up by Dr. Hunter. Obviously some rules were desirable, if not actually necessary, in order to obtain uniformity in the spelling of names; and it was with that object that the rules were framed—and, theoretically, they

were good ; but inasmuch as they gave no clue,—either to the trained official in India, who was not always an Oriental scholar, or to the outside world, which was totally ignorant of the language,—of the way in which those names should be pronounced, they were practically bad.

Formerly, although there were no hard-and-fast official rules on the subject, yet there were two recognised systems which were well understood ; one being that which was taught in Cheltenham College and at the East India Company's military College at Addiscombe, in which the words were to a great extent, though not entirely, phonetically spelt ; and the other being the so-called scientific system, which to a great extent, but not universally, was used by Civilians, but was never used by military men ; and it is on the latter that the rules for the present system were based, which has been on trial for some ten or twelve years now, and which appears to have failed in giving satisfaction to many.

The former system, which is often termed the "common-sense" system, was purposely adopted because of the difficulty in giving the full value to the different vowels, and the great confusion and danger that would arise in military operations, owing to a name being wrongly spelt or wrongly pronounced ; moreover, it was recognised that, the majority of readers in England not being Oriental scholars, it was desirable that all words should be so spelt as to present some difficulty in pronouncing them wrongly.

A careful analysis of the Oordoo (Urdū) alphabet here would be out of place ; but a few remarks regarding the vowels are necessary, because it is almost entirely in connection with them that the difficulties arose. The problem was, How should the different forms of the vowels—namely, the long, the short, and the mixed—be so written in the English characters as to enable the unlearned reader to pronounce them as nearly correctly as possible ? and it was solved, in what appeared to be a satisfactory manner, as follows :—

The long "a" is pronounced in the vernacular like the "a" in the English word "ball," therefore it was ordered to be so written; the short "a" having quite a different sound, which is more like the "u" in "but," it was (almost) invariably so written. The long "e," being pronounced as in the English word "feel," is the equivalent of the Italian vowel "i," and was invariably written "ee"; the short "i," being pronounced as in "fill," was so written. In like manner the long "u," which in the vernacular is formed from the "o" by the addition of a particular accent, is pronounced as "oo" in "fool," and the short "u" as in "full," and consequently they were always so written. The mixed vowel "ai," which is formed from "e" by the addition of an accent, is pronounced like our "i" in "bite;" but, in order to avoid confusion, it was either written as "ai" or as "y;" and the mixed form of "o," being pronounced like "ow" in "cow," was either so written or was expressed by "au." The two forms "ai" and "au" are admittedly weak points to an English reader, on account of the way in which the common words "fail" and "cause" are pronounced.

In the present system, the long and short vowels are all written exactly alike, and only very occasionally does a particularly careful writer trouble himself to insert the accents over them, which alone can distinguish one from another; it appears to be taken for granted that everybody knows in some mysterious manner where to place them himself, consequently the greatest difficulty is experienced in reading anything which is connected with India; and the most absurd and serious mistakes are made constantly by all kinds of people, from the greatest orator in Parliament down to the youngest boy at school. In fact, under this system the object would appear to be to write the Indian words in such a manner as to render it highly improbable, if not impossible, that the ordinary reader or speaker shall pronounce them correctly; and had it been consistently enforced in its entirety, the names of many places would have been altered beyond recognition, such for instance as Cal-

cutta, Bombay, Lucknow, Meerut, and very many others. It was therefore considered absolutely necessary to make numerous exceptions in the names of places, and for this we have to thank the energetic protests that were raised by the military authorities ; but in the names of people and all other words no exceptions were allowed, consequently the old familiar Baboos, Pundits, and Moonshees now appear to the astonished Britisher as Babus, Pandits and Munshis, and so on.

It is impossible not to admire the originality and boldness of the man who first started this so-called "correct" method of writing Hindoostanee words ; but at the same time it is equally impossible not to perceive the deplorable want of tact, and the indifference to the feelings and wants of others, of those who, by forcing such a system on India, attempted to lay down laws for the world.

It may be, and has been urged, that this is a matter of very trifling importance, inasmuch as it is well known that there are few Englishmen who know, and can tell you off-hand the correct pronunciation of the places Athy, Cavan, Omagh, and Youghal in Ireland ; or Aroch, Muthven and Kirkcudbright in Scotland ; or who are agreed as to the correct way of pronouncing Bath ; not to speak of the almost impossible Welsh names ; but it is scarcely logical to put forward one form of ignorance as an excuse for another.

There is no intention in this paper of touching on the peculiarities of our own language ; they are so numerous and so outrageous, that the wonder is, that any foreigner can ever master them ; nor have we any concern here with the exceptional manner of pronouncing Latin words, which is the rule in England only—not in Scotland or Ireland.

The only question which it is here desired to submit for public opinion is, whether it is desirable that the names of people and of places in India should be spelt as nearly as possible phonetically, according to rules which can be easily fixed hereafter, or whether the system now in force in that country should be allowed to continue to perplex and mystify all

who wish to read and to learn about that most important portion of the Empire ?

In reality, the organization of "Oordoo" in all its details, renders the pronunciation of that language of easy acquisition, by theory, to educated people ; to some people, especially to Italians, it comes very easily, both in theory and in practice ; but, strange to say, to the average Englishman it presents many great difficulties. We know how difficult it is for him to understand how to pronounce the long vowel "a" even when it is marked with a broad accent. The English orthography is so barbarous, each vowel varying its sound so arbitrarily, that it is almost impossible for an Englishman to form an adequate idea of the real value of a vowel in Oordoo ; therefore, to prevent him from being misled by the erratic notion of letters that he has obtained from his mother tongue, it was found necessary, in former days, to write phonetically, and in that way a tolerably correct pronunciation was arrived at. So much for the vowels.

Fortunately the consonants present few difficulties to a man who knows English thoroughly ; but to this, there are some very important exceptions, in the "dentals" and in the mixed letters chiefly : for instance, there are many men who find it impossible to approximate to a correct pronunciation of the double letters "kh" and "gh," or of that peculiar form of "k" which, in the Bombay Presidency, was formerly expressed as "q" "Q," that being the only English letter that sounds at all like it.

The orthography of the English language having little or nothing to do with its pronunciation, it is easy to understand that many men pronounce many common English words differently. How can you then expect them to agree in the pronunciation of foreign words, even when spelt phonetically, without any complications of accents ? In Oordoo everything depends on the value given to the vowels ; but in the so-called scientific system, the accents, which should, and which alone can, denote that value, are almost invariably omitted ; therefore it is impossible for any ordinary reader



to tell how words so written should be pronounced. It is not necessary that every one in India, or in England either, should be an Oriental scholar; but it is undoubtedly necessary that every one should know how to pronounce correctly what he reads. Many cavillers will object to all this, on the plea that there is nothing new in it, and that they have heard it all before; quite true, but it is not for such that these lines are written, but rather for the millions of English-speaking people throughout the world who do not care to pose as scholars, but who wish to read and speak intellectually and intelligibly.

A few examples, illustrative of the apparent necessity for a change back to the old lines, may be useful here. One day, some few years after the new system had been in force, a certain learned member of the Council of the Government of India was travelling along a well-known road in the Himalayas. Arrived at one halting-place, he consulted his route book and found that his next day's march would take him to a place called "Kukkerhuttee"—so it was written, and so it was pronounced; but he was a learned man and a great scholar, so he called together the men who were hired to carry his baggage, and informed them in the most pompous manner that on the following day they would proceed to "Kooker-hootee," that being, in his opinion, the correct pronunciation of the word. The poor ignorant coolies were so tickled at such an unexpected and unprecedented display of ignorance, that they forgot for the moment their Oriental manners, and roared with laughter. The writer was present on that occasion. The great man is the author of many works dealing with India.

On another occasion the heads of three Government Departments were engaged in the official discussion of a momentous question connected with an important frontier railway station called "Rook"—so it was pronounced, and so it used formerly to be written. We will call these officials A, B, and C. None of them had ever been to the place in question. On receiving the file of correspondence from "A,"

in which the word appeared as "Ruk," "B" expressed the utmost indignation at the ignorance—as he termed it—of his colleague; and in his written opinion on the subject, he spelt the word "Rak," and dilated to some extent on the great danger attendant on carelessness in spelling the names of important places. When the papers reached "C," he was fairly puzzled; but he was wise enough to take counsel with a subordinate who knew the place, and so the matter ended happily by the adoption of the spelling "Rūk," which is scientifically correct. The original omission of the accent had caused the difficulty, which might possibly have led to serious results; and that same accent is now invariably omitted. If the word had been written phonetically, no mistake could have possibly occurred, and the name would to-day be correctly pronounced by everybody.

A third example is still before us in the correspondence on the Manipur disaster; and the two names which catch the eye more often than any others are "Manipur" and "Senaputty." The correct way of pronouncing the first name is like the two English words "Money poor," but how many of the millions who read the daily papers know that? The old way of spelling it was "Munneepoor"; but of late years that has been changed to the more scientific "Manipur"—*Cui bono?* Strange to say, the second word has been all along, either accidentally or designedly, spelt phonetically, the consequence of which is, that it has been correctly pronounced by everybody. The one notable exception to this rule has been Sir Richard Temple, who, in his able article in the *Contemporary Review*, spells the word "Senapati"; but it is fortunate for the general reading public that his scientific method of rendering the word was not adopted by any other contributor to the discussion.

Progress is good so long as it is made in the right direction; but when it is found that the direction is wrong, and that further progress only leads to still deeper water, then retrogression becomes expedient, in order that a fresh start may be made along a safer and less intricate course.

The great mass of educated English-speaking people throughout the world do not like to be made ridiculous by having to confess an inability to pronounce words that are written for them ; and surely their tastes and feelings should have been consulted by the pedagogues who framed the rules which have occasioned so much annoyance.

A careful consideration of the arguments on each side of the question may possibly lead to a recognition of the fact, that if a word is so written that it cannot be mispronounced by any ordinary reader, the chances are that it will also be correctly pronounced by every one else ; in which case it is to be hoped that the present rules may be revised.

The old difficulty about the long "a" will remain in Oordoo, as it does still in English ; but the pronunciation of the other vowels will be much facilitated.

For some years past it has been considered by some people that it is an unmistakable sign of superiority in Oriental scholarship to be able to write Hindoostanee words in such a way as to render intelligent and intelligible reading almost impossible to their less gifted brethren ; but there does not appear to be any good reason why those ideas should not now be exploded, and the intellectual standard of the few be reduced to a level which will be easily attainable by the masses. There need be no fear that a graceful relinquishment of the high stand taken by the scholars will make them appear in the eyes of the world to be less scholarly than they formerly were ; on the other hand, it is probable that a timely acknowledgment of the hopelessness of their self-imposed task, which apparently aimed at the sudden and forcible raising of the national linguistic standard without the necessary previous education, and a resolution to abandon some of their dignity, with the object of assisting their fellow-creatures, will earn for them the gratitude of many whose wish or whose duty it is to know all about India, but for whom a complete knowledge of the language is unnecessary if not impossible.

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## THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT IN PERSIA.

ON leaving Ispahan, I secured as my companion a pensioned non-commissioned officer of the Royal Engineers who had just retired from the Telegraph Department after a residence of about twenty-five years in Persia. I naturally thought that after such a long residence I should find in him a fund of information about the country; but he turned out to be utterly ignorant of anything beyond the limited sphere in which his official duties had run, while, as to the country lying a few miles off the line of telegraph, it was as unknown to him as any part of unexplored Africa. I do not say that this was his fault, for he appeared to be a fairly good specimen of his class, and had evidently taken some pains to learn the language of the country; it was rather that of the system to which he was subjected.

It is astonishing to think that all the attention of the subordinates of the Department should have been restricted by the British authorities in such a country as Persia to the mechanical discharge of their official duties; for, as my companion informed me, when I taxed him with not acquainting himself with the country in which he had spent so many years, "The orders of my Director are, that no subordinate may go off the direct line of telegraph without obtaining leave and paying for all the expenses of his transport." In consequence of this insane red-tapeism, even the immediate vicinity of a place in which he had lived by himself for seventeen years, without a European neighbour within seventy miles, was unknown to him.

He also complained of the effect of such an order in limiting the few recreations possible in the way of shooting and fishing excursions, by which the dreary monotony of the life of the subordinates, in many of these out-of-the-way places, might have been varied. I believe, however, that the Telegraph Department is not entirely responsible for this culp-

That the interests of the Department would be best considered by offering all the higher appointments to civilian employés, is self-evident. What can be more discouraging than for the Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents to work conscientiously for years, leading the while a life of many hardships, to find that promotion, beyond a comparatively subordinate grade, is closed to them, and that as fast as one Director or Assistant Director retires or is promoted, his place is supplied by a Royal Engineer who may be transferred from the Public Works Department in India or the Sappers and Miners or any other branch of the service, and is probably ignorant of anything connected with electricity and the telegraph, beyond what he learned as a Cadet, whereas the Civilians have had a thorough technical education? These, however, are only grievances similar to those which constitute almost a scandal in the Public Works Department in India. In both cases the mixture of the military and civil elements in these Departments is detrimental to the public service, as the source of all petty jealousies and tyrannies. No military man can efficiently control a number of subordinates of mixed civilians and soldiers; for he cannot understand that his civilian subordinates should demur to a treatment which is accepted by military subordinates, bound by their rules of discipline to submit without dissent to his orders; consequently misunderstanding and ill-feeling are bred between the two elements, to the detriment of the public service.

The plea that the presence of privates and non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers in the Department necessitates military control, is too absurd to require serious consideration, for out of the total number of employés, only an infinitesimal proportion come under this category, and these would be more suitably employed elsewhere; for their duties in the Telegraph Department are far more efficiently performed by the civilians who have had a special and technical training.

## A CRISIS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

IN spite of the efforts on the part of Europe to penetrate the Central Sudan, this remote region continues to remain the stronghold of Muhammadan fanaticism and of Negro barbarism. Protected on the north by a deep zone of pitiless desert, its approaches on all other sides barred by countless impediments, created either by nature or man, the silent Sudan is a field of martyrdom for the oppressed pagan and an earthly Paradise for the sons of the Prophet.

From the West Coast of Africa serious attempts are being made—if, indeed, their futility has not already been proved—to effect a pacific lodgment in the Muhammadan Sudan. The British, from the Niger, have quite recently tried, but failed to convince the Sultan of Bornu of the advantage and comfort of wearing the Western yoke; the Germans, from the Cameroons, are doggedly engaged on the same hopeless task; whilst the French, from the Congo, have been seriously repulsed and their envoys assassinated. On the East Coast, owing to the force of political circumstances, the agents of Britain have recently met with an unexpected success—not, indeed, in penetrating Muhammadan Africa, which is as inaccessible as ever, but in the pacific occupation of what may be regarded as an important outwork—Uganda. But the enthusiasm, or spur of foreign competition, which has carried or driven them so far, has left them much in advance of their base on the Coast. It is now feared that this valiant band of pioneers—not the missionaries, of course—must be recalled. The reason for this retrograde measure appears to be, that we are not yet prepared to support such an advance.

This is the crisis: Shall we, having succeeded so far, proceed to fulfil our responsibilities, or shall we fall back on the old policy and—scuttle? The position requires explanation. It is doubtless serious, and involves far-reaching consequences, which any statesman might hesitate to accept;

able neglect of an important means of exercising an honourable influence in the country; for even if its Directing Officers were willing to encourage its employés to give an intelligent attention to the circumstances of the country and population amidst which many of them are destined to spend their lives, such a policy would probably only provoke disagreeable criticisms on the part of the Legation, who resent any infringement of what they consider their special province, namely, local information of every description. Yet in this they seem, as a general rule, woefully deficient; it is notorious that the British Legation at Teheran is the last place to which a traveller should apply for any information regarding Persia. This state of affairs recalls the absurd position formerly taken up by some of our frontier officials, when, on crossing the western frontier on duty or pleasure, one found oneself watched, ordered to travel by a particular route, and forbidden to go to this or that place. The vague and alarmingly suggestive plea used was, "fear of political complications;" the truth being, that the political authorities were jealous to the last degree of any intruders upon their especial preserve—a more extended acquaintance with which would lessen, as they feared, their importance in the eyes of Government.

Whatever the cause of such a short-sighted policy, the fact is, that for the last quarter of a century we have had, scattered over the line of the telegraph, numerous Englishmen, many of them, particularly the civil members of the Department, of a very high class of intelligence, each one of whom, if properly utilized, might have become a mine of information on all local subjects, and a source of considerable influence among the surrounding population; and that we have more than simply neglected, one might say, determinedly declined, to turn to any practical use this valuable material. I should qualify these sweeping remarks with the observation, that at last we seem to have recognised the error of our ways, and have apparently endeavoured to atone for past neglect by taking one, at any rate very marked, step in

recognition of the value of the services of which the Telegraph Department is capable, by appointing, as Consul at Ispahan, a senior officer of the Department.

This is indeed a good move, and one which has revived the drooping spirits of those of the employés who are of a more studious and enterprising disposition, and have devoted their leisure time—of which those stationed along the line have no lack, their duties taking up only a few hours in the day—to making themselves acquainted with the languages, and manners, and various subjects of interest of the people among whom they are living. Let us hope that this step may be followed by that of appointing men of this stamp, on their retirement from the Telegraph Department, as Vice-Consuls in various parts of Persia. Where could any body of men be found more suited for such a position than they who have spent many years of their lives in almost complete isolation from their fellow-countrymen, but in constant and,—as far as is possible between Europeans and Asiatics,—almost intimate intercourse with the people of the country; the more so as thereby they have become unfitted for life in England, and would prefer, in many cases, to remain, if only a slight inducement were forthcoming, in the land of their adoption.

The great misfortune of the Telegraph Department in Persia is, that, though its duties are now of an essentially civil nature, it has been thought necessary to adhere to an appearance of military control in its administration. This again is a piece of red-tapeism, which might with advantage be done away with. There may have been many reasons, when originally constructing the line, for entrusting the work to a scientific branch of the military service. Persia was then a comparatively unknown country, and it would have been difficult to organize a Civil Department to carry out the work; but now that the Department is practically worked by civilians,—the military forming but a minute percentage of the whole,—it seems absurd to keep up a military organization.



but it also offers distinct advantages to those who have the courage to seize them.

Ever since the partition of Africa entered the phase of an insensate scramble, the Powers of Europe have barely had time to consider the serious national responsibilities involved by the wholesale annexation of territory. Now, however, they are beginning to realize their position. Germany has again met with a serious rebuff on the East Coast, and openly acknowledges the comparatively slight value of her possessions in South-west Africa. Italy has given up her dreams of empire on the Red Sea Littoral, and is rapidly withdrawing her forces; soon she will be left only with Massowah to safeguard. Finally, not to mention other African bubbles, Britain has abandoned the so-called race to Lake Chad, and now threatens to evacuate her strategic position on the Upper Nile, in Uganda.

If, as we are aware, the advance of a European Power into Africa is not accomplished without suffering, in some form or another, to the natives who are dispossessed of their lands, a retreat is fraught with still more disastrous consequences. The Europeans, numerically weak, very naturally support their advance by entering into treaties with the most powerful native chiefs; nor do they scruple to take advantage of local animosities and tribal feuds. Tribes, factions, and individuals are pitted against one another. In Europe such action establishes a balance of power; but among African savages a breath of conspiracy will destroy the equilibrium. Those who rely on the promises of European protection are, it is true, generally the stronger; but, should the European protector suddenly withdraw his aid, they are left in a critical position. The house of cards, built up with paper treaties, immediately collapses, and the unhappy natives are left to their fate. The European loses nothing, perhaps, except prestige and the reputation for honest dealing, as valuable in Africa as in any other continent. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, since the advance of Europe into Africa can be greatly facilitated,—

and in some instances is only possible,—by securing the confidence of native tribes, it is of the utmost importance that the European should never repudiate his bond nor prove false to his engagements. These remarks apply with special force to Uganda.

Probably there is no other district in Africa that can show a more striking picture of Christian and European influence than Uganda; none in which missionary enterprise, considering the obstacles, has been more successful, or, considering the opportunities, less satisfactory. This paradoxical statement is borne out by the facts that, on the one hand, we have witnessed in Uganda hundreds of native converts to Christianity dying for their faith; and, on the other hand, we have seen this advanced native State torn asunder by rival factions and plunged into civil wars owing in a great measure to the political intrigues of the Arab, Catholic, and Protestant parties. The English and French missionaries, instead of uniting to stamp out the conflagrations of barbarism that more than once have threatened their very existence, have each worked for their own political ends, though in supreme moments they have stood back to back and boldly faced the devouring elements. The cruel boy-king Mwanga, who murdered Bishop Hannington and tortured to death hundreds of native Christian converts, after being deposed by his Arab rival, was restored to power by the Protestant party, into whose arms he consequently fell. The latest news from Uganda was to the effect that the country still resembled an armed camp: the rival factions were ranged in order of battle, and an expedition was pending against the Muhammadan party. Captain Lugard, the emissary of the British East Africa Company, having forced Mwanga into accepting British suzerainty, and having strongly entrenched himself and his party, appeared to hold the balance of power in his hand; but he does not speak with confidence. Thus the fate of Uganda still trembles in the balance. The issue is of the highest importance. Uganda is the most civilized native State in that part of Africa. Under European tute-

lage, and nominally under Christian influence, it might be made the nucleus of a new order of things in Central Africa. Its advantageous geographical position, its comparatively organized administrative machinery, its large and intelligent population, are all factors of importance to any European Power having a dominant position in the country. At the same time, no Power, with insufficient material strength behind it, can hope to regulate the barbaric passions of the native population. As in other parts of Africa, so in Uganda, it is essential for the Suzerain European Power to be in complete touch with a base on the Coast, whence supplies and reinforcements can be received with safety, regularity, and despatch. In any case the maintenance of such an advanced inland post as Uganda, if it is to serve as a secondary base for operations in the Interior, would tax the utmost available resources of any European Power, and far more of any Chartered Company in Africa. To build and maintain a railway over 400 miles in length, from the Coast to the Victoria Nyanza, to launch a steamer or steamers on the Lake, and to hold the restless Waganda,—not to speak of neighbouring tribes and the Masai,—in check, is a task quite beyond the strength and means of the British East Africa Company, constituted as it is at present, and dependent simply on its own resources. Nevertheless, it is precisely this task which the Company have undertaken.

From the port of Mombaza, their settled base on the Coast, over which they have now unfettered proprietary rights, the Company have actually commenced the construction of a light railway in the direction of the Victoria Nyanza. A fund has been started for the expenses of placing a steamer on the Lake. Captain Lugard, to whose presence in Uganda allusion has already been made, has not only coerced the tyrant Mwanga into accepting British suzerainty, and strongly entrenched himself in the country, but he has also instituted a line of fortified stations along the Sabaki route from the Coast to Uganda. Everything is therefore ready for the consolidation of British political rule on a firm and wide

basis in East Africa. At the last moment, however, we learn, with something like consternation, that the Company intend to give up their advanced position in Uganda and recall their agents, unless they are materially supported by Her Majesty's Government. The nature of such support, and the grounds on which it is claimed, have been clearly set forth in *The Times* and elsewhere, evidently by "inspired" writers.

As the representatives of British interests in East Africa, the Company do not hesitate to make an appeal to the nation : an appeal which, if we may trust those communications, carries also a threat in the event of its failure. The subject is therefore one for legitimate discussion. The issues raised are truly national: they involve not merely the success or failure of the Chartered Company, but, as we shall see, are closely bound up with the whole of our policy in the Sudan. Moreover, the success of this appeal would set a precedent, the danger of which should be fully understood. Such being the case, we must be permitted to examine the question fearlessly and impartially, irrespective of any individual interests. Judgment will be pronounced by Parliament, when the matter again comes up for discussion, unless it settles itself by the collapse of the Company, or at least in the withdrawal, voluntary or otherwise, of the Company's claims over Uganda.

What, then, are the precise claims of the Imperial British East Africa Company? They claim that they are the trustees for the nation; that, owing to the competition of Germany, they have been forced to advance more rapidly than they would otherwise have done; and that this advance, to be permanent, necessitates the immediate construction of a railway from the Coast to Uganda. They also complain that, whilst Germany gives the support of her Government, they themselves have to rely solely on their own resources, and cannot cope with their rivals on a fair footing. They therefore demand Government aid in the construction of the aforesaid railway, threatening to relinquish their dearly-bought success if it be refused.

Let us examine this *ultimatum* point by point.

It is true the Company are the trustees for the nation, since the Government chose to work by Chartered Companies in Africa. But if so, the nation, or its representative Government, should at least have the right of veto in all questions involving national responsibilities. If the Company, foreseeing the consequences of a dash to occupy Uganda, did not first sit down and reckon the cost, and their own capacity to meet it, they were guilty of mismanagement of their affairs. Figuratively speaking, they have got out of their depth, and now call upon H.M.'s Government to rescue them from a critical position. But the Government, unless they gave their assent to such a bold move in the first instance, may reasonably be exonerated from its consequences. What those may be, we shall see later on.

Why was there such perfervid haste? It is stated that it was essential to anticipate German action in the same direction. But this argument is not quite tenable. Germany agreed with Britain (July, 1890), to make no annexations of territory, and to accept no treaties, etc., north of the Anglo-German boundary. So that Germany is clearly excluded from Uganda, unless she wilfully ignores all treaty obligations. It is scarcely necessary to add, that no other European Power is in a position to interfere with the gradual expansion of the British sphere of action in East Africa. It is true that Emin Pasha—like an African Don Quixote—is wandering about the Lake region of Central Africa, tilting at windmills. He was heard of on 13th May last, at the southern end of the Albert Edward Nyanza, and is reported to have returned to Equatoria, but he certainly has no letters of marque to raise difficulties and disputes between Germany and Britain.

Another argument urged for the construction of this railway is, that it would destroy the Slave Trade in Central Africa. But the truth is, that such a railway would have no appreciable influence on this Traffic; it would only affect the very slight Trade existing in British East Africa. The two chief centres of the East Coast Slave Trade are Tabora and

the Nyassa district. None of the Slave Trade routes from these centres to the Coast pass through British East Africa. To the north, the chief routes lead to the Nile basin and the Red Sea, and in the south they pass through German territory. The Slave Trade in Nyassaland has its outlets in Portuguese territory, and has no connection whatever with British East Africa. It is quite obvious, therefore, that the Company's claim in this respect cannot be allowed, although the feelings of the public, always ready to listen to such arguments, are being enlisted on these false premises.

As to the point whether Uganda could or could not be held without a railway leading to the Coast, that depends entirely on the nature of its relations with the Company. If these relations were slight, a well-kept and well-patrolled caravan-road should meet all the requirements of commercial and administrative intercourse. If a railway were made, with the object of attracting the trade of the Upper Nile region, the cost of maintaining the line—quite apart from the expense of its construction—would be very great indeed. It would be difficult to convince the wandering Masai that the metals were not intended for their special use : such a railway would be to them a "gold-mine." Nor is it quite so certain that a railway would create trade, to any compensating extent, in the absence of more settled political conditions on the Upper Nile, not to speak of the Sudan.

Finally, the Company may or may not have reason to complain of the insignificant aid given them by Her Majesty's Government, in comparison with that which the Germans receive from their Government. But the conditions are totally different. Germany is a young Colonial Power, feeling her way to the establishment of colonies ; whilst Great Britain, with colonies in every part of the world, can afford to leave their expansion to the private enterprise of individuals. Germany has not at her disposal the surplus capital, the trained energy, and the opportunities which have built up the British Empire. Moreover—and this is a point of the highest importance—if Her Majesty's Govern-

ment were to set the precedent of subsidizing the British East Africa Company, or any other Chartered Company in Africa or elsewhere, there might be no end to such a policy. Other Companies with equally good claims might reasonably demand assistance from Government. Besides, the increased responsibilities resulting from the construction of a railway through British East Africa, which we have dimly foreshadowed, would doubtless involve a very large annual expenditure, quite out of proportion to trade-returns and altogether beyond the resources of the Company. It is true that the Germans are engaged in the construction of a railway from Tanga Bay—an excellent harbour—to Usambara, the richest lands in their Possessions. But Usambara is within a few miles of the East Coast and subject to German jurisdiction. As to the more ambitious enterprise of placing a steamer on the Victoria Nyanza, the latest advices are that, in consequence of the serious reverse in Uhehe, Major Wissmann has left for Lower Egypt to recruit soldiers, and the transport of the steamer has been postponed. It is clear that the Imperial Government, having recalled Baron von Soden and entrusted Major Wissmann with this new mission, are seriously reconsidering their policy in East Africa: events, with recurrent disasters, are proving too strong for them, and may necessitate a more cautious advance into the Interior.

Meantime, a Commercial Company, headed by Herr Lucas, has been founded in Germany, with a provisional capital of two million marks, to construct railways between the Coast and the Victoria Nyanza, and otherwise to develop the intervening lands. One might put the very pertinent question, Why should not the British Company do likewise? If they are convinced of the sound commercial policy of constructing a railway through their territories, why should they be unable themselves to raise the necessary capital?

Not to proceed at greater length into this inquiry, it is clear, from what has been said, that the only claim which

the Company can reasonably support, is their trusteeship for the nation. We have no desire to minimize this claim; on the contrary, we shall now endeavour to show that it deserves the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government.

If the Government are prepared to subsidize a railway through British East Africa at a cost of £40,000 a-year ("for a limited period," *The Times*\* correspondent adds; but we may let that pass), well and good. But the Government should clearly see that such a subsidy, given on the part of the nation towards national ends, and not to benefit a close Company, would involve the acceptance in principle of a distinct policy for the Sudan. Lord Salisbury has openly approved the proposed grant—not the subsidy—being given to the Company for a preliminary survey; but Sir William Harcourt, speaking from his place in Parliament, opposed it as a contentious matter, not to be rushed through. We are bound to admit that Sir William Harcourt took a statesmanlike course in causing the postponement, under the circumstances, of so very serious a decision; though it was much to be regretted that the matter was not brought forward until the fag-end of the last session of Parliament. To embark with a light heart on enterprises in Africa has been too common an experience.

The question, therefore, as to whether or not the Government should materially support, either by a grant or a subsidy, the construction of a railway through British East Africa is before the nation. What should be the answer given by Parliament? To understand the issues at stake, we must extend our horizon. Let us assume, for the sake of argument if not for the credit of our statesmen, that the British Foreign Office has adopted a definite programme for Egypt and the Sudan. We cannot even guess at what that programme may be; we can only argue from the analogy of accomplished facts. What, then, are the facts?

Great Britain still occupies Lower Egypt, and refuses to

\* 28th Sept., 1891.



fix a term for the duration of such occupation ; the utmost concession France, in her position as the disappointed suitor, and the Sultan of Turkey, as the puppet of Europe, can force the Foreign Office to make, is, that Egypt will be evacuated as soon as she can "stand alone." That is to say, Egypt must prove herself capable of self-government and of maintaining her complete independence. Those who know Egypt and the capacities of Orientals shrewdly opine that such a time will never come. It is not our purpose to inquire whether the British Government is acting in perfect good faith and in its popular *rôle* as the policeman of Europe ; but, if there be one point on which English statesmen are fairly unanimous, it is, that the route to the East by the Suez Canal must be under British control. It is needless to add that, for this end, Egypt must not be allowed to fall into the power of any other European State, nor must she run the risk of again lapsing into anarchy. Similarly, our Possessions on the Gulf of Aden must be maintained in a state of efficiency, to secure the other end of the Canal, and the southern entrance to the Red Sea.

If this were the Alpha and Omega of British policy in North-east Africa, we could understand that the affairs of British East Africa might cause but slight anxiety to the Foreign Office, so far as the protection of our route to India were concerned, though even in this respect alone the value of a port and harbour like Mombaza is not to be overlooked. But there are other factors to be taken into account. When a nation or individual embarks on an equivocal line of action, a host of embarrassing circumstances, leading deeper and deeper into the mire, are sure to be encountered. We have alluded to the very natural jealousy of France in Lower Egypt ; and it is morally certain that she will never relinquish her opposition nor her rivalry so long as Britain strives for mastery in the Mediterranean. But France has also an establishment of her own at the southern entrance of the Red Sea : she also has an Eastern Empire to protect. It is true that, so far, she has been unable to hamper our policy

from this base and, were the *status quo* maintained, it might be blissfully ignored. A new circumstance has, however, come to light: France, in her new-born zeal for an alliance with Russia, is at the present moment lending herself—no doubt *con amore*—to the realization of a Russian intrigue in Abyssinia, with the obvious intention of planting a thorn in the side of the British lion. Russia, it would appear, being too easily baffled in her schemes of aggrandisement in Central Asia, is desirous of finding in Africa—of all places in the world!—a new lever against British obstinacy. This lever she has apparently discovered in Abyssinia.

The public are scarcely aware that Italy has already withdrawn her inland posts on the Red Sea Littoral and has virtually abandoned her claims over Abyssinia. This retrograde action is no surprise to those who study Italian politics. The Italians, after the British campaign in the Sudan, were too rash in their precipitate occupation of Massowah: they erred by overrating their power as an ally to Britain in Africa. The early evacuation of the Sudan consequently left Italy to her fate. Repeated disasters on the Red Sea Littoral, drawing her deeper and deeper into the slough of African politics, have exhausted her strength and her enthusiasm for colonial enterprise. Italy, therefore, only consults her true interests by retiring from a false and untenable position. The treaties which she concluded with the new Negus, Menelik, and other chieftains, were, however, perfectly valid, and must remain so until repudiated by the contracting parties. We assume that they have been allowed to lapse, otherwise it would be difficult to understand, as it would be impossible to condone, the recent joint action of Russia and France.

A correspondent of *The Times*, in a short series of remarkably well-informed articles, the first of which appeared on 25th July, 1891, exposed the nature and extent of this new Russo-French *entente*. Briefly stated, it is simply this: Russia, with the connivance and active co-operation of the French authorities in Lower Egypt and at Obock, has de-

spatched an expedition to Abyssinia under the command of a certain Lieutenant Mashkoff, accompanied by a monk named Tikhon; but the latest news of its operations was that the monk and the lieutenant had quarrelled, the former proceeding direct to Petersburg to report on the affair, the latter remaining in Abyssinia to carry out single-handed, except for his escort, the Russo-French programme. From what has transpired it would appear that neither Russia nor France aims at establishing a sphere of influence over Abyssinia, which would instantly raise international questions: the objects of the expedition are simply moral,—perhaps we should say, immoral. They are no less than to convince Menelik that the Russian Orthodox Church is not only similar to, but even identical with, the so-called Christian Church in Abyssinia. If, indeed, this were the case, we should feel inclined to deplore the degradation of the Russian Orthodox Church. But, matters of orthodoxy apart, it will doubtless be a simple matter for the Russian envoy to convince Menelik and the Abyssinian Aboona, or High Priest, as he may be called, of the confraternity, based on deep religious sympathy, existing between the Tsar and the Negus, and consequently between their respective subjects. Whatever the nature of their mutual understanding may be, it is confidently declared, and may readily be believed, that Russia has it in her power to establish a spiritual, and consequently a temporal, influence over Abyssinia. Neither the pursuit of science—the reputed aim of the expedition—nor the avowal of other objects can blind us to the fact that this new move of Russia, acting conjointly with France, is calculated to raise difficulties for Great Britain in the Sudan. We are, it is true, helpless to checkmate it at the present stage of its progress, except in a measure through Italy, whose treaties with Abyssinia might easily be upheld; but Italy would appear to refuse the inglorious part of a “political buffer.” Such being the case we must look elsewhere for support.

It scarcely requires demonstration to prove that disturb-

ances in the Eastern Sudan would seriously affect the administration of Lower Egypt. Russia, as we know only too well, is an adept at raising political disturbances; her experiences in Central Asia and in South-east Europe would stand her in good stead in the case of Abyssinia—a country with immense resources for good or evil. Not only that: it is even asserted that Lieutenant Mashkoff, after visiting Shoa, intends to journey north in the direction of Khartum! Perhaps, however, the wish is father to the thought. From the fact that Russia is uniting with France, not only in this Abyssinian move, but also in Lower Egypt, to hamper the policy of Great Britain, it is evident that the British Foreign Office cannot afford to abandon any point of vantage in North-east Africa. Such a point may be found in Uganda, provided always we are prepared for extensive operations in the Nile basin. It is conceivable that, with British influence paramount in Uganda, with the ultimate prospect of its extension over the countries of the Upper Nile, no movement on the part of Abyssinia could endanger our position as it exists at present in Lower Egypt. Of course, a still simpler and certainly cheaper diplomatic move would be to outwit France and Russia in Abyssinia itself, where the memory of British arms is not likely yet to have faded. If, however, in order to encourage commercial enterprise, we elect to embark on the more ambitious programme of establishing British influence over the source-country of the Nile,—a policy which some day may be forced on us,—then, undoubtedly, we cannot afford to view with equanimity the prospect of the withdrawal of the British East Africa Company from Uganda.

With the object of supporting the claims of the Company in their capacity as trustees for the nation, we have, it must be confessed, opened up a field of controversy which may be hotly contested by the disputants of rival parties. It is more than doubtful whether Great Britain, with her increasing responsibilities, would be justified in entering Tropical Africa with so difficult a mission to perform. Still, under

are so difficult to classify, that in the short space that can here be devoted to them they can only be touched upon in a very cursory manner. They are mainly derived, however, (1) by adding *na* to the primitive noun, as *Siga*, the sun; *Sigana*, to bask; (2) from some of the adverbs; and (3) from adjectives by prefixing *Vaka* (unless the adjective already has the particle) and affixing *taka*. This rule will be found very useful by the beginner, who, with a certain number of adjectives at his command, need scarcely ever be at fault for his verb. The following are instances:—

*Levu*, great, adjective; *Vaka levu taka*, to magnify.

*Loaloa*, black, adjective; *Vaka loaloa taka*, to blacken.

Transitive, intransitive, and passive verbs are very marked in Fijian, owing to the changes they undergo to express these distinctions:—

*Au sa cakacaka* (intr.), I work. *Au sa cakava na ka ogo*, or *Au sa caka ogo* (trans.), I work at this thing. *Sa cakavi na ka ogo* (pass.), This thing is being worked.

Besides *Vaka*, the prefixes *Dau* and *Vei* are of great importance in connection with verbs: the former implies *intensity* or *frequency*, and the latter conveys an idea of *reciprocity*, and therefore of *plurality*:—

*Cata*, to hate; *Daucata*, to hate intensely; *Veicati*, to hate one another.

*Lako*, to go; *Daulako*, to go often; *Veilakoyaki*, to go backwards and forwards.

These particles will always be found of great convenience, not only in connection with verbs, but also with nouns, adjectives, and adverbs.

*Pronouns*. The pronouns, to a beginner, are perhaps the most difficult of all the parts of speech to acquire, owing to the large class of words which they form in the language. The pronouns have four numbers: singular, dual, triad, and plural. The dual, triad, and plural have, moreover, an inclusive and exclusive sense in the first person, thus:—

*Kedaru*, we two; *Kedatou*, we three; *Keda*, we.

(Including the one addressed).

*Keivan*, we two ; *Keitou*, we three ; *Keimami*, we.

(Excluding the one addressed).

They are still more complicated by there being special possessive pronouns for food and drink, for instance :—

*Noqu*, mine,—my anything, except food and drink.

*Kequ*, mine,—my food only.

*Mequ*, mine,—my drink only.

This runs all through the possessive pronouns, both in the inclusive and exclusive sense. The triad is generally used instead of the plural in general conversation, but the latter is always made use of in speeches, in prayers, and in addressing a Chief of rank. It thus corresponds to the French "*vous*." *Exclamations* are numerous in the language, and play a very important part in all rites and ceremonies, each ceremony having its established exclamations. The commonest are *Sobo*, *Suru*, *Veka veka*, and *Uene*.

The "*Tama*," by which respect and reverence is shown to a Chief, is made up of shouts, such as, *Muduo wo ! Mai mai wo !*

Before concluding this paper I should have wished to say something about the natives themselves, of their character, of their customs, and of their present form of government, so happily inaugurated by Governor Sir Arthur Gordon. But were I once to begin, I feel I should be exceeding my time and trespassing on your patience. I will therefore only add that I know of no finer race of people, whether morally or physically ; and all who live among them for any length of time have the same admiration and partiality for them and for the lovely islands nature has given them for their home.

F. C. FULLER.

## THE HUMOUR OF THE HEBREW BIBLE AND ITS ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

(BY THE REV. DR. CHOTZNER, OF HARROW.)

It is perhaps not universally known that the first and most ancient version of the Hebrew Bible that is still extant under the name of "The Septuagint," was not received, at the time of its first appearance in Alexandria (about 285 B.C.), with equal favour by *all* the Judæans living at that period. These were then divided into two principal sections, commonly styled the Palestinian and the Egyptian Judæans, who, although professing the same creed and holding the Hebrew Scriptures in great veneration, differed seriously in respect to the latter's treatment and interpretation. The Egyptian Judæans of those times hailed with satisfaction and delight the aforementioned first version of the Bible, in spite of its various incorrect renderings of several passages of the Hebrew text; and the chief argument they used in its favour was the following. They said that the Septuagint was the most proper means to convey thereby an idea of the contents of the Bible to those who were not familiar with the sacred tongue; and this fact alone, they thought, was already sufficient to justify its existence. On the other hand, the Palestinian Judæans were of opinion that, unless the Bible is studied in the original Hebrew, its contents cannot be properly and fully understood and appreciated by the reader. Hence they regarded the Septuagint, not as a boon, but rather as a calamity, inasmuch as they feared that it might do more harm than any real good to the interest of Judaism at large.

Now, although many centuries have passed since the merits or demerits of the first of all the other versions of the Bible now in circulation have been discussed, the question has as yet not been finally and decisively answered, whether it is possible or not to obtain a

thorough knowledge of the Bible by merely using a translation of it, made either in an ancient or modern language.

The present paper is by no means intended to settle that question in one way or another, but its only purpose is to point out a few instances in which a translation generally fails to satisfy such Biblical students as may be desirous of obtaining more than a superficial idea of the contents of the original. There are, for example, numerous passages in the latter which are full of pathos, and there are also some in which words are played upon ("Wortspiele"), as well as such words the very sound of which appear to have been intended by the writer that they should give special force to the sense and sentiment expressed in those passages in which they occur. All these idiomatic peculiarities of the original Hebrew must needs be lost in a translation, however faultless it may be in many other respects.

As a specimen of the last-named instance, the verses 19 to 26 in the 39th chapter of the Book of Job, and especially the 24th and 25th, may be mentioned here, which, referring as they do to a fiery war-horse, indicate by their very sound the spirited and excited movement of a horse amidst the clamour and noise of a fierce battle. They remind us vividly of Virgil's lines in *Georgicon*, iii. 83-85 :

"Tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere,  
Stare loco nescit, micat auribus, et tremit artus,  
Collectum premens volvit sub naribus ignem."

And yet, who will be prepared to assert that the characteristic sound expressed in those few Hebrew lines is faithfully imitated in any ancient or modern version ?

But there is another striking feature in the Hebrew Bible which is very seldom, if ever, perceptible in a translation, and this is the light humour and satire one meets with here and there in its pages. These will naturally not bear comparison with the same broad, deep humour and satire as found in the works of comparatively modern authors, such as *Cervantes*, *Voltaire*, *Sterne*, and *Heine*, but they are certainly as good as the humour and satire one meets with in



the circumstances, we can quite understand Her Majesty's Government embarking on a forward policy in British East Africa. If, on the other hand, it is the honest intention of Great Britain eventually to evacuate Egypt, then under no conceivable pretext, in the region of high politics, can Her Majesty's Government undertake to guarantee, far less subsidize, a railway through British East Africa, except it may be that of pure benevolence.

And this brings us to the last point in our argument. We do not assert, in spite of what has been said, that Her Majesty's Government should refuse to support the commercial undertakings of the British East Africa Company. What we have endeavoured to show is, that the Company have absolutely no claim, under its present Charter, to material assistance, except on the ground of benevolence. Allusion has, however, already been made to the danger of setting such a precedent. Consequently, should the Government give way, it would be absolutely essential for them to revise the terms of the Charter and to place the Company on a subordinate footing. In other words, British East Africa would have to be made a Crown Colony or something very closely resembling one.

The question naturally arises, Is it worth it? If the political programme be disallowed, would it prove a profitable investment for the British public? We think not; but to answer this question would open up a subject which could not be dealt with in the space at our disposal. Unless the public has reason to be satisfied with the prospects of the investment, as such, the construction of a line of railway through British East Africa would resemble the course of a river that loses itself in the sand.

ALPHA.

## FIJI.

It is not surprising that European nations generally should profess ignorance of the little islands of Fiji, which occupy but a small space on the map, in the region of the South Seas, and are situated some 12,000 miles from our own continent.

Our intercourse with the natives has hitherto been limited, as our acquisition of the islands only dates back to 1875, and yet an experience of sixteen years has enabled visitors to these lovely spots to gain an insight into the customs of the natives, and their natural character.

The main idea after annexation which inspired the existing policy, consisted in giving to the natives first rights and first consideration, to which, from their tenure of the land, they were justly entitled. In other words, the interests of the white settlers were considered secondary to those of the natives. The white was not permitted to usurp the natural rights and privileges of the native.

The colonists recognised the rights of the colony, and Fiji, in this respect, has received from the wise policy of its first Governor—Sir Arthur Gordon—privileges which, unfortunately, have been denied to larger and more important dependencies. It is impossible to over-estimate the character of the native population. They are singularly ingenuous, and their reputation for hospitality is proverbial. The communal right, whereby equal rights exist as to the tenure of land, creates a reciprocal link between all classes, and tends to cement and organize them.

The inhabitants of the islands are law-abiding. Crimes of a heinous character are rare, whether affecting the rights of property or of person; and no country with a population of 100,000 can boast of so small a police force, such as is sufficient to sustain order, and maintain the dignity of the

law. It is almost impossible to make a stranger realize by hearsay evidence to how high a standard of civilization this little dependency has attained, though the natives might almost be said to be semi-barbarous in origin, with regard to their cannibal ancestry. Yet with all this, former generations have transmitted to them a spirit of dignified independence, which certainly would not disgrace communities who arrogate to themselves the title of pioneers of progress and advancement.

The group of islands are divided into thirteen provinces, each of which is under the control of a native Lieutenant-governor. He is responsible for the administration, discipline, and good order of the province.

The feeling of the natives towards England is decidedly friendly. They have but a vague idea of the little island of "Pritania," as they term it; but they are aware of its strength and dominion, and no colony is more loyal in their devotion to our Queen, whom they regard with feelings little short of veneration.

If only Fiji could be transplanted, and its picturesque and varied beauty of scenery brought within easier reach of European travellers, Monte Carlo and other luxuriant spots on the Riviera would find that they had met with a compeer ready to hold her own, as regards climate and natural attractions.

Contagious illness is rare, and the population enjoy, in these tropical regions, a singular immunity from serious disease.

In many respects, though their position on the face of the world is so divergent, the natives of the South Sea Islands may be said to resemble the hardy Norsemen, and those who dwell in the land of the midnight sun; for with both an innate good breeding is an essential characteristic, which certainly does not always advance at a rate proportionate to civilization, as it is termed.

It is impossible in a short sketch to do more than give the vaguest of outlines of the customs and habits of this

interesting little dependency ; but if only my words shall quicken a desire on the part of others to explore its beauties for themselves, then I shall not have written in vain.

#### ON THE FIJIAN LANGUAGE.

Perhaps the most interesting, as well as the richest of Polynesian languages, is that spoken by the natives of the Fiji Islands. It is essentially Papuan, soft and melodious to the ear. Thanks to the successful efforts of the Wesleyan Mission, it retained its purity, although at one time this was greatly threatened by the influence of powerful neighbours, the Tongans or Friendly Islanders.

Before considering the grammar, it may be worth noticing a few of the leading characteristics of Fijian.

The language now accepted by all the natives and taught in the schools is in reality but one of the many dialects spoken, in former times, by the islanders. It was the dialect of a small island called *Bau*, in the olden days the seat of the most powerful chiefs in the group. These eventually became its kings, and thus imposed their language, as well as their rule, on all the surrounding tribes, influencing all the group by their prestige as chiefs. The ascendancy of the Bau dialect over all the others was secured when the missionaries adopted and taught it in their schools ; and at length, when the islands were annexed, it was established and recognised by the Government as the official language.

The vocabulary is, for a native language, extensive. It comprises some 8,000 words ; and the richness of the language mainly lies in its ability to express the same thing in various ways. One weakness it certainly has, and that weakness is to be found in the abstract nouns, which are made up either by the composition of names of tangible objects, or by the simpler means of using the adjectives as nouns. The following examples will suffice to illustrate my meaning. The word for "strength" is "*kaukauwa*." "*Kaukau*" is the name of a certain tree possessing a vine

the best-known classics of Greece and Rome. One or two examples will serve to illustrate this assertion.

The description given by Homer of a gathering of the Greek gods and goddesses at a banquet held on Mount Olympus, when they were waited upon by the lame Hephaestus, is generally considered to be the most humorous incident of any narrated by the great Greek bard. Yet, it will hardly be denied that there is a deeper humour in the well-known incident that took place on Mount Carmel, when Elijah gathered round him the false prophets of Baal, and admonished them to invoke the help of their god with a specially loud voice, as he might have fallen asleep, and required to be awaked. A similar instance may be found, if one compares some of the puns made by *Aristophanes* and *Horace* on proper names, with certain Hebrew ones that occasionally occur in the Bible. The former are less striking than, for example, the Hebrew word "Nabal" (1 Kings xviii. 27), which means "rogue," and is at the same time well applied as a proper name to a man who was noted for the baseness of his character. Similarly characteristic is the proper name of one of Job's most beautiful daughters, named "Keren-happuch" (Job xlii. 14), which literally means "a horn (or box) of cosmetics." To the same class of striking puns belongs also the term "Tsara" (צרה), which designates both "a rival wife" living in a country where polygamy is in vogue, and also "misery." The humour hidden in these three words is certainly hardly perceptible in the authorized English Version, where they are respectively translated by "folly," "Keren-happuch," and "adversary." From the few examples just quoted it will be seen that acquaintance with the idiom of the Hebrew tongue is a *sine qua non* to the study of the Bible, and that it enables the biblical student to detect, among other things, fragments of light humour and satire in certain words or phrases of the original text, which, as a rule, are lost in a translation. As very little attention has hitherto been paid to the particular subject in question on the part of Biblical critics, some observations on it will be perhaps considered of general interest.

On reading the Bible attentively in the original Hebrew, one cannot but be struck by the fragments of humour one comes occasionally across in its pages. Most of its authors seem to have acted on the good old proverb: "*Castigare ridendo mores*," and have thus used light satire or sarcasm as weapons with which they attacked certain short-comings and follies of their own people, and those of other nations with whom the latter happened to come into political contact. But the satirist *par excellence* of the Bible is undoubtedly the author of the Book of Ecclesiastes, inasmuch as this seems to be the richest in fragments of light humour of all the other books of the canon.

For the present purpose it matters very little whether the author of the book in question was King Solomon, to whom the authorship of the Book of Proverbs is also commonly ascribed, or some other unknown person, who had assumed the *nom de plume* of "Koheleth." But this is certain, that he does not belong to that class of writers whose humour is but a mixture of sadness and melancholy, and who, like the authors of "*Faust*" and "*Manfred*," speak with an acute bitterness of humanity at large. His humour is mostly gay and cheerful; and, far from weeping over the foibles and follies of human nature, he makes merry over them. The gist of his philosophy may be said to be embodied in that frequently quoted line from Amphis (Gynococrazia, p. 481), which runs thus: *Πίνε, παιζε· θνητὸς ὁ βίος· ὀλίγος οὐπὶ γῆ χρόνος*. (Drink and chaff, for life is fleeting; short is our time on earth.) Or, to quote Koheleth's own words, "Behold that which I have seen: it is good and comely for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all the labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life, which God giveth him: for this alone is his portion" (Eccles. v. 18).

The objects of Koheleth's satire are of a various description. High functionaries of State, silly kings, scribblers, tedious preachers, bookworms, idlers, sceptics, fools, drunkards, women—they are all a capital treasure for this light sarcasm.

well known to the natives for its powers of enduring great strain, and "*wa*" means any rope or cord, so that the composition of the two words denotes this particular kind of vine, and conveys the idea of strength.\*

The pronunciation of the language is of great importance, and notice should be taken of the following rules regarding consonants :—

*B* is always pronounced *mb* ; *d* always *nd* ; *g* always *ng*, as in "*ing*" ; *q* always *g*, as in "*gate*," "*greet*," etc. ; and *c* is pronounced "*th*."

The vowels are open, as in Italian.

The language is full of idioms ; nor can any one who has not mastered, at least, the most important ones, speak good colloquial Fijian.

With these few preliminary remarks, I shall endeavour to convey some idea of the etymology of the language by a brief glance at the various parts of speech.

According to the compilers of the Fijian Dictionary and Grammar (members of the Wesleyan Mission Society), the alphabet is said to contain but twenty letters, the sounds represented by the letters H, X, and Z not occurring in the language, and F, J, and P being only used in introduced words.

*Articles*.—There are, strictly speaking, two articles, *ko* and *na* ; but these are liable to be used under different forms, such as *o*, *oi*, *koi*, *a*, *na*, and *nai*. They are always placed *before* the personal pronouns, and, generally speaking, before all proper names ; thus, for instance, alluding to Mr. N., you would say, "*Ko Misi N.*," "*The Mr. N.*," as is the custom in some European languages.

*Nouns*.—The nouns may be classed under three headings, viz. :—

(1) Names of natural objects, which are generally un-derived words.

(2) Abstract nouns, which, as we have already seen, are

\* The adjective "*vinaka*," good, also means goodness ; "*levu*," great, also means greatness, etc.

expressed principally by adjectives ; and, in fact, it can be laid down, as a rule, that *all* adjectives are used as abstracts.

(3) Nouns, and they are by far the greater number, which are formed from verbs.

There are various modes of turning verbs into nouns, but perhaps the commonest way is by prefixing *dau*, or by reduplicating, or partly reduplicating, the verb, viz. :—

*Butako*, to thieve ; *daubutako*, a thief. *Vosa*, to speak ; *dauvosa*, a chatterer. *Lako*, to go ; *lako lako*, a departure. *Tiko*, to sit ; *tiko tiko*, a seat ; and so on.

There is yet another class of nouns, namely those which take the possessive pronouns appended instead of prefixed ; these are either names of parts of the human body, or nouns expressing relationship. It is not possible, for instance, to say in Fijian “noqu ulu,” *my head*, it must be “uluqu,” *head mine* ; in the same way, “luvequ,” *child mine*, and not “noqu luvena,” *my child*. But as these nouns are all names of natural objects, they really belong to the first heading.

*Adjectives*.—Besides the primitive or underived adjectives, there are (1) those formed by the reduplication of nouns, (2) those formed from different parts of the verbs either by reduplication or by prefixes, and (3) those formed from nouns with the prefix *Vaka*. This latter is a very favourite class of adjective, and almost any noun can be turned into an adjective, at the speaker's own convenience, by the use of this prefix. *Vaka* implies either *similitude* or *possession*, and it corresponds in its first meaning to our suffix “ly.” *Tamata* is man, *Vaka tamata* is manly. *Vaka* is used less frequently in its second meaning of implying possession. *Vale* is a house, and a man who is *vaka vale* is possessed of a house, otherwise a *housely* man.

*Adverbs*.—The same rule applies to adverbs, or, at least, to adverbs of manner, which are all formed by the prefix *Vaka* and the noun. Adverbs of time, place, cause, etc., are very numerous, and have to be learnt separately by the student.

*Verbs*.—Verbs in Fijian take so many different forms, and



He once came across a poor man, who had vainly tried for a long time to obtain, in the High Court of Justice, redress for wrongs done to him, and he put down in writing the following sarcastic remark on the subject : " If thou seest oppression of the poor, and violence done to justice and righteousness in the provinces, do not feel astonished at that matter : for one that is high watches over the high, and over them there are still higher ones " (Eccles. v. 8) ; so that it must naturally take a very long time before the grievances of the poor are properly attended to. Koheleth stigmatizes a land " whose king is childish, and whose princes *feast* already in the *morning*," but praises such a one " whose princes eat at a proper time for *strengthening* sake, and not for the sake of *gluttony* " (Ibid. x. 16-17). Referring to persons that would now-a-days be designated by the name of bookworms, he remarks with, as it were, a pitiful smile : " Where there is much study there is much vexation, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth pain " (Ibid. i. 18). And again : " The wise have (as a rule) no bread, nor the man of understanding riches, nor the man of knowledge power " (Ibid. ix. 11). Women were to literary men of all times and all countries a fruitful subject for mild or severe criticism, and Koheleth has also some, by no means flattering, remarks on them. Referring to a special class of women, he writes : " I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is snares and nets, and whose hands are bonds : he that is deemed good before God will escape from her ; but the sinner will be caught by her. . . . One (perfect) man among a thousand did I find ; but one (perfect) woman among all these I found not " (Ibid. vii. 26 and 28). A few more funny remarks on the same subject are found in the Book of Proverbs, the author of which, as has already been stated, is generally supposed to have been the same who wrote the Book of Ecclesiastes. In that book a quarrelsome woman is compared " to a continual dropping on a very rainy day ; " and it is also said of her that it is as impossible to hide her existence from the outer world as it

is impossible "to hide a wind, or to hide the perfume of scented oil" (Prov. xxvii. 15-16). In the same book (ch. xxiii. 29-35) a description is given of a drunkard which is most humorous and ought not to be omitted when reference is made to the existence of light humour in the Bible. It runs thus: "Who hath woe? who hath pain? who hath quarrels? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of the eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed drinks. . . . Thine eyes shall behold strange things, and thine heart shall utter nonsensical words. Yea, thou shalt be as he that lies down in the midst of the sea, or as he that lies upon the top of a mast. Oh, how they have stricken me (thou shalt say), how they have beaten me, and I felt it not; when shall I awake? I shall yet seek it (the drink) again."

Next to the author of the Book of Ecclesiastes, no author of any part of the Bible is so prolific of satirical remarks as the prophet *Isaiah*. He combines the pungency of satire with the charm of an exquisite poetical style; and whenever he makes use of them, he seldom fails to produce on the mind of the reader an extraordinary effect. Though principally waging war against the crimes of folly and extravagance, which seem to have been the principal vices of his age, he did not omit, whenever an opportunity offered, to rebuke in strong terms the princes and leaders of his people, for not keeping up among themselves a true spirit of patriotism, which alone could have assisted in averting the great calamity of an invasion of the enemy into their land. Isaiah's orations are frequently enlivened by a vivid and graphic description of the future gloomy state of affairs at home, when that fatal day, the *dies ira*, *dies illa*, will come, on which the enemy will reign supreme within the walls of the capital of the Judæans, bringing in its train endless misery, famine, and pestilence. Then shabbily-clad and care-worn looking individuals will surround the lucky owner of a decent garment, saying: "Thou hast still clothing, be thou our ruler, and let this ruin be under thine hand." But

that genteel-looking citizen will thankfully decline the proffered honour with the humiliating remark: "I will not be a healer, for in my house is neither bread nor clothing: make me not a ruler of the people" (Isa. iii. 6 and 7). The then prevailing misery and distress will not be less felt by the *women*, most of whom the war will have deprived of their husbands and natural protectors. The consequence of all this will be, that "on that day seven women will take hold of one man, saying, We will eat our own bread and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name, and thus take away our reproach" (Ibid. iv. 1).

The extravagance, haughtiness, and luxurious habits of the fair daughters of Zion, Isaiah denounces in the following lines:—"Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched-forth necks and wanton (or unnatural) (*משקרות* from *שקר*) eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet, . . . it shall come to pass, that instead of a sweet smell there shall be bad odour; and instead of girdle a rent; and burning instead of beauty" (Ibid. iii. 16 and 24). And just as he censures the women for their pride and haughtiness, so does he scorn at the cowardice and effeminate habits of the *men* of Zion, whose motto he states to have been, "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we may die" (Ibid. xxii. 13). He also sneers at their pretended courage and manliness by mockingly saying: "Alas! ye are only mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to pour out strong drinks" (Ibid. v. 22).

Burlesquing the idols was always a capital treasure of sarcasm to most of the Hebrew prophets, and Isaiah indulged in it as readily as any of them. Like Aristophanes of old, who in his famous comedy, "The Birds," ridicules the Greek gods and goddesses, so does Isaiah satirize the sham gods of *his* country, which were held in great estimation by not a few of his own people. His description of the origin and make of these idols is most humorous. "He" (the pious idolater), he says, "burneth part thereof" (of the forest tree); "one part serves him as firewood, by means of which

he roasteth meat . . . yea, he warmeth himself therewith, and saith : Aha, I am warm ; I have seen the fire. And out of the residue he maketh a god, even his graven image : he falls down before it and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith : Deliver me, for thou art my God " (Ibid. xvii. 16-18).

With equal humour does Isaiah make merry over the false prophets, whom he compares to blind watchmen and to dumb dogs, who are not of the slightest use to anybody, and can easily be dispensed with. " His (Israel's) watchmen," he says, " are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot even bark ; they lie down as if dreaming, and are very fond of slumber " (Ibid. lvi. 10).

Occasionally the butt of Isaiah's sarcasm are persons who do not belong to the Jewish race, but to other nationalities, such as the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Moabites. Highly amusing is the sarcastic address he directed to one of the Babylonian kings, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Palestine, had been ignominiously defeated in his own country. The address in question is to be found in the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, a short extract from which runs as follows : " The whole earth is now (after thy fall) at rest and quiet : people break forth into singing. Yea, even the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying Since thou art laid down no feller is come up against us. Hell from beneath is quite agitated at thy coming ; it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth ; it has raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they shall speak and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we ? Art thou become like unto us ? . . . How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer son of the morning ! How art thou cut down to the ground, thou which didst weaken the nations." In an equally amusing and drastic manner is Babylon's fall described by Isaiah. " And Babylon," he says, " the glory of the kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah . . . neither shall the

Arabian pitch tent there, nor shall the shepherds make their tents there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures ; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces" (Ibid. xiii. 19-23).

As the space allotted to this paper must of necessity be limited, it cannot be expected that the subject under notice can be fully and exhaustively treated in it. A few more examples, however, taken from various parts of the Hebrew Bible, may serve to illustrate the argument put forth in the introduction to this Essay.

The prophet *Jeremiah*, living as he did partly at a time when Jerusalem's sun was about setting, and partly "when the adversary had already spread out his hand over all her magnificent things," was, by the nature of events, of a less humorous disposition than *Isaiah*, who knew her when she was still in her full political glory. But even he used here and there satire and irony as a weapon for attacking the follies and vices of his country, although he had sometimes to suffer bodily and mentally for so doing. Just as the Greek philosopher *Diogenes* is reported to have gone about the streets of Athens, carrying in day-time a lighted lantern in his hand in search of a perfect man, so did *Jeremiah* recommend his people to try the same experiment in the streets of Jerusalem. "Run ye," he says, "to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and seek in the broad places thereof if ye can find a man . . . if there be any that seeketh the truth, and I shall pardon it" (*Jeremiah* v. 1).

The idols, the great plague of the land, receive also at *his* hand their proper share of ridicule. He describes them thus : "They are upright as the palm-tree, but speak not ; they must needs be borne because they cannot go. Be not afraid of them, for they cannot do any evil, neither can they effect any good" (Ibid. x. 5).

Of *Ezekiel's* humour no specimens can be given here. It is rather coarse, and produces in the mind of the reader

a disagreeable sensation. The curious may be referred to the sixteenth and twenty-third chapters of his book.

In the writings of the minor prophets, and especially of those of *Hosea* and *Amos*, several passages occur that contain flashes of humour and sarcasm. So, for instance, in reproaching his people with their faithlessness to their God and their king, Hosea remarks most sarcastically, "For now they say, We have no king; as we did not (even) fear the Lord, what can a (mortal) king do to us?" (*Hosea* x. 3). Whatever they did under the pretension of honouring God was, in his opinion, nothing but mockery and hypocrisy, for "although Israel has forgotten his Maker, yet he buildeth temples" (*Ibid.* viii. 14). Those of his people who fancied they could obtain atonements for their sins by merely offering sacrifices, he derided, saying: "They sacrifice flesh for the sacrifices of my offerings, and *eat it*" (themselves) (*Ibid.* viii. 13).

One would have expected that the priests at least would set a good example to the people; but no, they were equally as bad as the people themselves. What they did was, "They *eat up* the sin offerings of the people, and looked out even longingly for their (the people's) iniquity" (*Ibid.* iv. 8), so that they might profit by it. Speaking of the king and ruler of the people, he considered him not a bit better than his profligate courtiers, who spent the greater part of the day in feasting and debauchery. There was especially no end to their orgies at the celebration of the king's birthday; and Hosea describes their behaviour on that day as follows: "It is our king's day! The princes are already sick with the fever of wine; he himself (meaning the king) stretches out his hand with the scoffers" (*Ibid.* vii. 5).

*Amos'* address to the fat judges of the people of Samaria is very exhilarating. Owing to their pompous gravity and their effeminate habits, he calls them "kine of Bashan." These worthies were always thirsty; and their constant cry was, when dealing with the oppressed poor and needy, "Provide for us that we may have something to drink" (*Amos* vi. 1). The patricians of his people followed the bad example

of the judges. They lived an easy life, and were quite indifferent to the approaching common danger with which they were threatened, namely the loss of their freedom and independency. Speaking of them, Amos says, "Woe to them that put off the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon the beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches; . . . that sing to the sound of the harp; they invent for themselves instruments of music like David; that drink wine out of bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments, but are not grieved for the ruin of Joseph (Israel). Therefore now shall they go into captivity *at the head* of the captives" (Ibid. vi. 3-7).

The hypocrites among his people, who, notwithstanding their dishonest dealings with their neighbours, were exceedingly strict in their observances of the holy seasons appointed by the Jewish law, are scoffed at by Amos in the following manner: "Hear ye," says he, "that swallow up the needy, and destroy the poor of the land, saying, When will the new moon be over, that we may sell again corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the *ephah small* and the *shekel great*, and falsifying the balances for deceit? That we may buy the poor for money, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell even the refuse of the wheat?" (Ibid. viii. 4-6.)

That even the austere Jewish lawgiver, Moses, was possessed of a vein of humour, which he occasionally used with great effect, will be seen from the following few extracts from the Pentateuch. When once impressing his people with the importance of the observation of that particular law by which they were commanded to give the soil of their possession periodically a year of rest, he gave them at the same time to understand that unless they did so willingly, they would have to do it by the force of circumstances. "When," he says, "you shall be in your *enemies'* land, *then* shall the land rest and enjoy her sabbath" (Leviticus xxvi. 34). And again; "Because thou didst not serve *the Lord thy God* with joyfulness and with gladness of heart, while

there was (round about) an *abundance* of all things ; therefore shalt thou serve *thy enemies*, whom the Lord will send out against thee, in hunger, in thirst, in nakedness, *and in want of everything*" (Deuteronomy xxviii. 47, 48). The messengers sent out by Moses to search the land of Canaan, are reported by him (Numbers xiii. 32) to have given the following droll description thereof : " It is," they said, " a land that *eateth up* its own inhabitants," which means to say that, instead of producing sufficient food for the people that live therein, numerous burials were taking place there.

In his last famous address to his people, which is commonly called his swan-song, Moses recalls to their mind the happy days of yore, when God led them " as the eagle stirreth up his nest, fluttereth over his young, spreadeth abroad his wings, seizeth them, beareth them aloft on his pinions " (Deuteronomy xxx. 11-13). But at the same time he foresaw with the far-seeing eye of a prophet, that, as soon as they will have grown " fat, thick, and fleshy," they would forsake the God of their fathers, and worship idols. And, in consequence, he gives them God's message, which is couched in the following sarcastic terms : " They have moved me to jealousy with that which is *not God* . . . and I will move them to jealousy with things that are unfit for *a people*. I will provoke them to anger by a roguish nation " (Ibid. xxxii. 21).

From all hitherto said it will easily be seen that certain advantages can be derived from the study of the Bible in its original Hebrew, which the English or any other translation fails to produce. And besides, just as any one who undertakes to lecture on, say, Homer, Dante, or Shakspeare is rightly expected that he should have read the works of these poets in the original, so it ought to be considered necessary that all those who preach or lecture on the Old Testament should have made themselves fully acquainted with the Hebrew text. If the members of the Semitic Section of this Congress of Orientalists succeed in bringing about an improvement in the direction above indicated, they will have deserved well of the community.



## THE HEALTH LAWS OF THE BIBLE, AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE LIFE- CONDITION OF THE JEWS.

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THE Bible had its origin in the East, and it may be of interest to the members of an Oriental Congress to learn what influence the ordinances of the Bible have had upon the life-condition of the Jews, who,—a Semitic race originally dwelling in a somewhat inaccessible strip of land,—are now a people scattered abroad, and dispersed all over the globe, but still observing more or less the laws enjoined on them 3,000 years ago.

The subject is a large one, and I propose to-day to examine more particularly the hygienic laws of the Bible, and bring forward certain vital statistics concerning the Jews, which I shall compare with the vital statistics of the general population.

Although the Hebrew Scriptures and the sanitary laws therein enunciated are familiar to most people, yet not many know the exact interpretation which the Jews, "The People of the Book," attached to these ordinances. Moreover, they were amplified by tradition; and the Rabbis and teachers in Israel, in their anxiety that the people should not violate them, extended their scope, and built what was called a "fence" round the Law.

We need not dwell upon the institution of the seventh day of rest after six days of labour, which has been adopted by all civilized nations, and promotes their well-being. Nor need we specially refer to the Levitical laws as to marriage among next-of-kin. Here again Christians observe these laws no less rigorously than Jews.

Scripture emphasizes the importance of cleanliness and of holiness. In Deuteronomy xxiii. 9 to 14, the people

are exhorted to keep aloof from every evil thing and from all pollution. Sanitary precautions and arrangements akin to our earth-closets are recommended even when camping out against the enemy; for, proceeds the text, "the Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, therefore shall thy camp be holy, that He see no unclean thing in thee and turn away from thee."

The Talmud enumerates (Baba Kama, fol. 82) the sanitary regulations which were upheld in Jerusalem of old—no dungheaps were tolerated there, and the rearing of poultry and of unclean animals was prohibited.

The laws as to cleanliness of the person are numerous. The Rabbis enjoined upon the Jew to perform ablutions on rising, also before morning and evening prayer, before meals, and on other occasions. Periodically he must bathe. Further, before he can offer up prayer, the room must be cleansed and all impurities cleared away.

Again, it is part of the institution of Passover that all leaven has to be removed before its celebration (Deut. xvi. 4). To do this effectively, the observant Jew must thoroughly cleanse his dwelling. This cleansing process every year has, Dr. Richardson asserts, preserved the Jew through the Middle Ages, though pent up in the noisome Ghettoes; and it preserves him at the present day amidst insanitary surroundings and in over-crowded dwellings. The Jewish quarter at Rome abuts on the Tiber, and there one would think marsh fever would be most prevalent. It is found, however, that this district is most free from it, though malaria is so prevalent in the Campagna. In the east of London, in Galicia, and in the Pale within which alone the Jews of Russia are now allowed to live, overcrowding is great; from twelve to twenty families often occupying three or four small rooms. But for the sanitary observances already mentioned, serious outbreaks of disease would be inevitable.

When cholera was committing its ravages, the Jews escaped to a remarkable degree. At Buda-Pesth in 1849,

the mortality among the general population was 1·85 per cent., but among the Jews it was only ·237 per cent. Scalzi says that in Italy, among the general population, out of every 100 attacked by cholera, 69·13 died; among the Jews, it was but 22 out of every 100 attacked.

It is true that in certain towns, where there was an entire absence of sanitary arrangements in the Jewish quarter, the Jews may have suffered more than their neighbours; and I must also admit that, among illiterate Jews, want and persecution have produced indifference to cleanliness. It is to be hoped that, with the spread of education, the latter class of Jews will learn to observe, not merely the strict letter, but also the spirit of the laws of health.

The restrictions of the Jew as to food are far-reaching. He has to eschew eating the meat of the animals that are not cloven-footed and do not chew the cud, presumably because their flesh was considered indigestible. With regard to swine flesh, we know how prone it is to trichinosis, and how unsuitable such food is in hot climates. Dr. E. Ballard, in a paper on meat infection, read at the recent International Congress of Hygiène, points out, that pig-meat furnishes the largest number of instances of food-poisoning, as it is found most freely productive of gelatine when cooked, gelatine being a favourite nutriment of morbid bacilli. That obscure illness,—actinomycosis,—which leads to suppuration of the skin, may be cited as a further example of such food-poisoning.

The Mosaic Law prohibits all shell-fish and also creeping things, including all insects and animalcules that can be discerned by the naked eye. Accordingly, the observant Jew carefully abstains from anything which has decayed or turned putrid. He must not partake of tainted milk, nor drink impure water; and we can thus understand how, oftentimes, the Jews escaped from the plague, from typhoid, and other kindred diseases. The cry during the Middle Ages was, that the wells were poisoned; so they were, but the poison consisted of decayed animal matter from which the Jew kept aloof.

Exodus xxii. 31 enacts that flesh that is torn must not be eaten. Leviticus xvii. 15, 16 prohibits the flesh of any animal that has died of itself. The rabbinical law requires the Jew likewise to abstain from flesh of any animal that is not killed in the prescribed way, or is found on inspection to be diseased ; and the directions given in the Talmud on this point are most minute, and display a profound knowledge of physiology. An animal, the lungs of which are in any way affected by tubercles, has always been by Jews considered unfit for food. But it is only quite recently that the danger of eating the flesh of cattle suffering from pleuro-pneumonia has been generally admitted.

In corroboration of this point, I would refer to the evidence of Dr. Drysdale before a Medical Conference at Leeds, and of Dr. Behrend, whose article in the *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1889, deserves attention. Voluminous evidence also, on this point, was furnished at the International Congress of Hygiène held recently.

The Jewish Law enforces strict examination of the lungs in the case of cattle ; but, strangely enough, dispenses with it in the case of poultry, hitherto deemed equally liable to tuberculosis. Dr. Koch, however, has pointed out to the International Medical Congress of 1890, that the tubercle cultures from fowls were a quite distinct species and innocuous to man.

You are aware that, for purposes of Life Assurance, inquiry is invariably made into the family history, and the causes of death of the near relations of the person proposing for assurance ; and especially as to whether any cases of consumption have occurred in his family. My own experience, which extends over thirty years, agrees with that of numerous physicians, and I can confidently assert that Jews are remarkably free from scrofulous and tubercular complaints.

It is an established fact, that environment has much to do with liability to consumption. The disease can be contracted even by the inhalation of the bacilli in the sputum

of a patient, so that it would be absurd to claim for the Jews absolute immunity from the malady. Copious statistics however go far to establish its comparative rarity among the Jews.

The desire to avoid parasitic and infectious maladies, which, among the general public, is so essentially of modern growth, appears to have always dominated the hygienic laws of the Jews. Those animals are forbidden which are more particularly liable to parasites. And as it is in the blood that germs of disease circulate, an additional safeguard has been provided by the injunction which requires that even clean animals, when slaughtered, should be drained of their blood, before being served for food.

Modern science, moreover, cannot but admire the wisdom of the lawgiver who, in the days of old, enjoined removal and isolation of the patient, disinfection of the clothing, and other safeguards to prevent the spread of the disease. Where contagion attached to garments, or a house was found insanitary and dangerous to health, the priest, who, in olden time, acted as the Jewish physician and local sanitary authority, was empowered to enforce their destruction.

The Jewish law is strong upon the point that the dead should be buried as soon as signs of putrefaction set in ; and there are numerous sanitary regulations for those who come in contact with the dead. The Talmud (Baba Bathra, 25) lays down the rule, that cemeteries must be at least fifty cubits removed from the city ; and extramural burial has always been a Jewish institution.

The Bible is clearly adverse to cremation ; but so anxious were the Jewish sages to promote the " return of the dust to the earth as it was," that they commended the burial of the corpse in loose boards, and the body being brought in direct contact with the earth ; they discountenanced brick graves ; and some Rabbis in the East advocate the use of quicklime, to promote decomposition.

Deuteronomy xxii. 11 enacts, " Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linen together."

Here we have the wearing of pure woollen stuff recommended by the law of Moses, 3,000 years before Jaeger urges its adoption.

It is no part of my task to discuss the moral qualities of the Jew; but his temperance is an admitted fact. I doubt whether a strictly-observant Jew has ever been convicted of drunkenness. Some people however labour under the impression that, whilst the Jew is temperate in the use of intoxicating drinks, he is an inordinately great eater. I can find no ground for such an assertion. The Jew is fond of the good things of this life, for his is a joyous religion, which does not commend undue ascetic practices. The Nazarite had to bring a sin-offering because he imposed on himself unnecessary restraints. Chapter viii. of Nehemiah describes how the people spent New Year's Day, from early morning to mid-day in prayer and expounding the Law. Then Ezra and Nehemiah said, "Go your way, eat the fat and drink the sweet, send portions unto him for whom nothing is prepared; for this day is holy unto our Lord: neither be ye grieved; for the joy of the Lord is your strength." At the other festivals, the Jew is distinctly commanded to rejoice, and regale those dependent on him.

How, it may be asked, does the Jew maintain moderation, which with him is habitual, and not the result of a violent effort? I ascribe it to the habitual self-control which the observant Jew has to exercise, and of which I have already given instances. The greatest act of self-control is the habitual fasting incumbent upon the Jew. By fasting, I do not mean the partaking of meagre food, but entire abstention from meat and drink for twenty-four hours. Thus, of the Jewish Day of Atonement it is said in Leviticus xxiii. 32, "Ye shall afflict your souls from even unto even." The strictly observant Jews keep no less than six fasts in the year; so that, to the Jew, abstention becomes a kind of second nature.

I have dwelt on this subject perhaps at too great a length, but I ascribe to the habitual temperance of the Jew the fact

that he becomes so readily acclimatized in all parts of the world ; while it is to the lack of such self-control that the disappearance of the aborigines in America and Australia may be attributed.

Self-control has to be exercised also by the Jews in their sexual relations, in compliance with the precepts contained in Leviticus. Dr. Behrend has pointed out that observance of these laws ensures procreation at a specially favourable period.

In the first chapter of the Bible (Genesis i. 28), occur the words, "God said unto man, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." The pious Jew is anxious, therefore, that his children should be married at a comparatively early age. The sons of the Jews in Eastern Europe marry long before they are able to gain their livelihood; and it is understood that either the father or father-in-law must maintain them until they are able to earn a competence. Where the parents cannot maintain them, marriage is not encouraged. Hence we must not be surprised that the marriage rate among Jews is less than among Christians.

Early marriages among the poverty-stricken can only lead to misery ; and it is to be feared that the lesson of the Talmud, that you must first build a house and earn your living before taking unto yourself a wife, is not always followed. However, the result of early marriage amongst the Jews, is to diminish profligacy. Syphilis is comparatively rare among the Jews of Russia and Galicia ; and the percentage of illegitimate children among them is much less than among other denominations. Into the sanitary value of circumcision I will not here specially inquire.

The observance of the institutions I have referred to, and especially that of early marriage, undoubtedly accounts for the fecundity of the Hebrew race. The statistics of France, Germany, and Italy all tell the same tale. The remarkable figures quoted by Schimmer with respect to Austria are probably exaggerated. He states that the issue for every marriage was 10·1 amongst the Jews, as against 4·5

for the general population. Legoyt and Bergmann give 8·8 births to every Jewish marriage in Austria.

The relative number of still-births among the Jews is decidedly less than among the general population. All the statistics I have been enabled to examine would point to the fact that infant mortality is considerably less among the Jews than among the general population.

The official returns for Prussia in respect to 1882, as regards the mortality during the first twelve months of life, are as follows :

NUMBER OF DEATHS TO EVERY 1000 BORN (INCLUDING STILLBORN).

		Protestants.		Roman Catholics.		Jews.
Boys	...	246·8	...	242·2	...	185·8
Girls	...	210·7	...	204·1	...	157·3

Dr. B. W. Richardson has, in various passages of his excellent works, pointed out the superior vitality of the Jews. I would specially refer to his work, "Health and Life." In chapter iii. he says, "That they should exist at all, is one of the marvels of history. That they should exist as they do, and present the vitality they do, adds even marvel to marvel." To bear out this statement he quotes Mayer, Neufville, and Legoyt, and then presents the results of an inquiry of his own, based upon the ages at death of 2,563 Jews in London, which go to confirm his assertion.

A complete investigation of the subject, so far as Great Britain is concerned, is beset with great difficulty, inasmuch as in none of the official returns is there any division in the classes of people in respect to race or religion; and for further statistics we must turn to other countries, especially to Prussia, where the records are most complete. Within recent years we do not there find such a rigid observance of the Talmudical laws; nor is this the case in countries where Jews are emancipated and in comparative affluence. In Prussia, of late years, early marriages have been less frequent. Prudential motives seem to prevail there amongst the Jews, perhaps even more so than among the Gentiles. Where people marry at a later age, the number of births is fewer, and male births do not so largely exceed female births.



Bergmann says that, while from 1819 to 1864, no less than 111·94 boys were born of Jewish parents to every 100 girls, the average was, in the years 1864 to 1873, reduced to 106·39 boys to 100 girls. The number of illegitimate births has been sensibly increasing.

Bergmann gives the following tables :—

BIRTHS PER 100 MARRIAGES.—PROVINCE POSEN.

			Roman Catholics.		Protestants.		Jews.
1819-1848	...	...	437	...	408	...	502
1849-1873	...	...	446	...	423	...	411

PERCENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS TO TOTAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN EASTERN PRUSSIA.

			Roman Catholics.		Protestants.		Jews.
1819-1833	...	...	6·50	...	8·40	...	1·24
1834-1848	...	...	7·11	...	8·88	...	1·81
1849-1863	...	...	7·71	...	9·99	...	3·19
1864-1873	...	...	7·71	...	10·70	...	3·87
Average	...	...	7·30	...	9·50	...	2·54

The infant mortality among Jewish illegitimate children is inordinately large, more than double that among legitimate children.

The infertility of mixed marriages is a noteworthy fact. Prussian statistics show for the years 1875-81 an offspring of 1·65 for such marriages, as against 4·41 for purely Jewish marriages. Where the father was a Jew and the mother a Protestant, the average was but 1·31.

In the words of Dr. Behrend, "In every one of the biostatic privileges the Jews enjoy, the penalty has to be paid for laxity of observances ; and those who transgress have to submit to the inexorable law of being cut off from their people, so far as the physical advantages of their race are concerned."

A large array of statistics in further confirmation of this statement could be given, but I will content myself with submitting certain results derived from a special investigation into the vital statistics of 10,000 Jewish families resident in the United States. This inquiry was conducted under the auspices of the Census Office at Washington, and its results were published in December, 1890.

The marriage-rate was very low, only 7·4 per 1,000 annually, the average rate among the general population in the North-Eastern States being from 18 to 22 per 1,000. The average age at marriage was greater among the Jews than among the general population. The average number of children born to each of the 10,085 Jewish mothers was 4·66. Jewish mothers born in the United States, average only 3·56 children each.

"	"	Germany,	"	5·24	"
"	"	Russia and Poland,	"	5·63	"
"	"	Bohemia,	"	5·44	"

These figures indicate a distinctly diminished fertility in those mothers born in the United States.

The proportion of male to female infants was as 103·16 to 100. The birth-rate was found to diminish from year to year. The deaths for five years amounted to 2,062, giving an average annual death-rate of only 7·11 per 1,000. This, of course, is remarkably low; but, on examination of the figures, it is found that it is decidedly increasing, and in 1889, amounted to 10 per 1,000.

For the five years, the death-rate among the native-born Jews was 9·15; among the foreign-born it was 7·61.

Looking at the American returns generally, it will be seen that the birth-rate and marriage-rate are gradually diminishing, and that the death-rate of the Jews, whilst still less than that of their neighbours, is gradually increasing. This corresponds, generally speaking, with European experience.

From examination of the causes of death, it appears that out of a total of 2,062 deaths, there was but one death from scrofula, and one from alcoholism.

The mortality per 1,000 from *Consumption* was:—

		Jews.		General Population.
Males	...	36·57	...	108·79
Females	...	34·02	...	146·12

The mortality per 1,000 from *Diabetes* was:—

		Jews.		General Population.
Males	...	19·85	...	2·74
Females	...	19·59	...	1·21

The mortality per 1,000 from *Diseases of the Spinal Cord* was:—

		Jews.		General Population.
Males	...	9·40	...	3·73
Females	...	6·18	...	3·32

We must not be surprised at the high mortality shown among the Jews in respect of spinal complaints and diabetes. Medical authorities are agreed that they arise principally from nervous and mental strain, to which Jews are specially subject, seeing that they are more addicted to headwork and exciting business pursuits than to manual and out-door labour.

The number of insane reported among the Jews per 100,000 of population was 44·5, while, according to the United States census of 1880, among the general population, it was 336.

The percentage of deaf-mutes and blind, in respect of the Jews, is also favourable in the American returns; but these statistics do not accord with the Prussian figures.

It should be noted that the Jews principally congregate in cities, and they form but a small proportion of the rural population.

Sufficient, I think, has now been said to show how marked the influence which the sanitary regulations of the Bible, as practised by the Jews, have had upon their life conditions. I agree with Mr. Joseph Jacobs, who has written with much ability on the subject, that beyond the infertility of mixed marriages, there are few biostatic characteristics of Jews, which can be termed definitely racial; but even where not racial, they are the outcome of Jewish habit, education, and environment.

Jewish longevity, fertility, and immunity from certain diseases are due to moral and religious influences. These advantages will endure as long as these influences are permitted to operate. They must disappear, as, to some extent, they are disappearing, where the bonds of religion and traditional laws are relaxed.

How true then are the words in Deuteronomy iv. 40, "Thou shalt keep His statutes and His commandments, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days upon the earth!"

## PRE-HISTORIC ROCK PICTURES NEAR BELLARY, SOUTH INDIA.

ABOUT Bellary, in South India, the country is flat, often here and there masses of piled-up rocks rising a few hundred feet above the plain and showing scarcely any vegetation.

The hill, on which a fort was built by Tippu, between the civil and military sides of the Bellary station, was, like the hill near it, inhabited by the stone folk. Broken celts and other stone implements, pieces of pottery, thick and thin, some well glazed and some rudely ornamented, may be picked up in large quantities on these hills; and smooth places may be seen where pre-historic man smoothed his stone weapons and ground his corn.

The neighbourhood is the richest in South India in traces of the stone folk. The chief settlement was perhaps at Kapgal, five miles to the north-east of Bellary, where there was plenty of material for implements, and whence it was carried to the surrounding settlements. As the specimens found round about Kapgal are made of the green stone found only on that hill, it is probable that implements were roughly hewn there and carried home for completion.

Of this hill Mr. Bruce Foote, F.G.S., Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, and the oldest and chief worker in pre-historics in South India, writes : \*—" Kapgal had evidently been a settlement of the stone folk for a considerable period and an important centre of celt manufacture. The traces of residence were very numerous in the shape of small terraces revetted with rough stone walls, great accumulations of made ground full of ashes and broken pottery, and containing many implements of all sorts, a large proportion of them damaged, many so much so that they had evidently been rejected as useless. Bones of bul-

\* "Notes on some recent Neolithic and Paleolithic Finds in South India," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lvi., part 2, No. 3, 1887.

locks, chiefly broken, occur pretty numerous, and especially in the ashy parts of the made ground. Other traces of residence were small tanks made by damming up the little stream which drains the northern side of the hill. Large blocks of the local granite-gneiss had been hollowed for some purpose or other, and so well worn by use or purposely fine-tooled, that their inner surface was all but polished. . . . The signs of manufacture of implements I found on Kapgal consisted of large numbers of unfinished celts in all possible states of completion, and great quantities of flakes struck off from the selected fragments of rock in the process of fabrication. . . . The stone to be worked was procurable on the hill. It is a fine grained pale green stone (diorites), which occurs here and there in irregular bands of some thickness within the mass of a huge dyke of coarse black diorite that runs along the northern slope of the hill parallel with its axis."

Kapgal Hill was inhabited to the very summit; and all over it and in the surrounding fields may be picked up almost any number of stone celts, mealing stones, scrapers, pounders, chisels, etc., as Mr. Bruce Foote says, mostly broken. The best finds we made were two perforated stone hammers, one complete and one broken, a bone implement, and a narrow chisel of a unique type: they were the first of their kind found in South India. It was known that the folk who lived here knew how to make holes in stones, for (*vide* Mr. Bruce Foote's interesting notes) not long ago a stone ring, apparently for resting a pot on, was found on Bellary hill; still it was satisfactory to find the hammers. The only ornaments found were circular pieces of pottery, perforated as if for a string. We found, too, a reddish brown pigment, worn smooth on part of its surface as if through use in the toilet.

In the plain around Kapgal and the Bellary hills are numbers of tumuli of the circular kind so common in South India; and north of the former are two curious accumulations of what appear to be "slaggy cinders." They are

circular. The most perfect is 100 feet in diameter, and about 6 feet above the plain. The outer crust slopes gently from the plain to the crown ; within, it is perpendicular ; and the middle of the circle inside the crown is of some soft, dry, earthy stuff. Nothing more can be said of this curious accumulation at present. We sectioned it, and specimens of its composition and bones found in it were brought to England : till they are examined it is best not to theorize. I need hardly say, that no connection has yet been established between these curious accumulations, the tumuli, and the folk who inhabited the hill. There are several somewhat similar curious accumulations of cinders or ashes in Bellary district,\* and some description of them will be found in Mr. Bruce Foote's Notes. They still await investigation.

With two friends, Mr. R. Sewell and Mr. H. T. Knox, of the M. C. S., excursions were made to Kapgal Hill in June last, and during one was made the discovery of prehistoric rock pictures already announced at the Congress of Orientalists in London in September last.

It seemed as if nothing we could find in the way of relics would tell us anything of the habits, customs, beliefs—the life, in fact—of those who had lived on the same ground in the far-away ages, when most unexpectedly—for existence of anything of the kind in India was, so far as we knew, unknown—were found prehistoric rock pictures which may give a glimpse into that which seemed gone for ever.

Crossing the east end of the trap dyke, I noticed the picture of an animal engraved on the perpendicular surface of a rock, so we searched about, and found many pictures on the rocks, the best of which I afterwards photographed. At this place the earth seems to have been washed away by rain, and the rocks are as if piled up. The difficulty of climbing, and the absence of any apparent purpose for doing so, may account for the discovery not being made before. There are many terraces on the solid rock, rude skill having

\* Some 6,000 square miles in area.

assisted nature in forming low stone walls around them, and there are many smooth worn places which were apparently used for sharpening or smoothing implements, and larger and deeper hollows as if for pounding corn and the like. On the edges of one small flat rock were seventeen such hollows. This was evidently a working, if not an inhabited, part of the hill, for in the crevices all about were observed quantities of flakes and other signs of work.

The pictures are bruised, and not scratched, on the rocks. Fortunately they are seen to more advantage in the photographs than on the rocks, as they are very indistinct, but least so when viewed from a certain distance. Here and there is the semblance of a picture arousing keen interest, which is completely baffled when one approaches for careful examination ; for as one gets near, it seems to disappear, and it is necessary to retire fifteen or twenty feet in order to see it again.

But ere proceeding further, I may as well give some reasons for the presumption that the pictures are prehistoric.

(a) They are in a place where prehistoric man of the Neolithic (also, probably, Paleolithic) period lived and worked, and carried on manufacture of stone implements.

(b) Their origin is ascribed by the Hindu villagers of the neighbourhood to a god (Vitlappa by name) ; and the fact of their being appreciated as the work of a supernatural being, compels the presumption that they are very ancient.

(c) Their style is not Hindu : there are no Hindu conventional shapes. There is but little variation in the shapes of animals whenever or wherever depicted by Hindus. Take the Nandi—Siva's bull : on the oldest coins, or however represented, it is just the same as when now drawn or sculptured by a Hindu. On one of the rocks a Nandi has been drawn recently, and there are many specimens of modern work, easily separated from the older which it imitated : they are in quite a different style, or rather without any style, and simply scratched, and not bruised on the rocks. To mischievous persons among the worshippers

of Vitlappa, or stray cow-boys, such as those who knocked the noses off the Amravati marbles, may be attributed the modern work, which imitation easily accounts for. The old work is good of its kind, though rude; the characteristics of the animals are described in the faintest lines, and put on the rocks, not with hasty scratches, but in a manner demanding considerable labour and pains.

(d) Most of the animals depicted do not represent those now found in the surrounding country. Oxen and deer are represented again and again, always in the same style, but of different type to those we see now. The dog, ox, antelope, deer, elk, leopard, elephant (or rather what look like these), and other animals appear in the pictures, but no horse. We see the horse depicted in the Amravati marbles which were carved nearly 2,000 years ago, and which are the most ancient pictures of life yet found in South India; and it is common in Hindu pictures for the dignity of a chief to be expressed by his being on horseback. Throughout the Bellary district heroes of an olden time, represented in bas-relief on stones, are common objects of worship. It seems that, as the horse does not appear in the pictures, its existence was unknown to those who made them. The district is dry and barren and almost treeless. If it was ever a habitat of the elephant, it must have been a *very* long time ago.

(e) Like all the human figures in the pictures, that of Vitlappa is unclothed. This suggests that those who made the pictures were innocent of clothing, and that the picture of Vitlappa is pre-Hindu, for no Hindu god is represented nude.

(f) Some, on rocks which have not been displaced for ages, are *upside down*, and some are nearly perpendicular. Unless we suppose they were intentionally drawn so—and we cannot—we must be inclined to believe that they were drawn as only rational beings would draw them, and that the rocks were afterwards subverted. That there was some displacement of the rocks is probable, for some of the pictures could not have been done, were the rocks as they are now, without the aid of scaffolding; and that such was



used is not very likely. This helps to banish probability of the pictures having been done by Hindus, who would certainly not take the trouble to clamber over these rocks and put up scaffolding to bruise pictures on hard rocks for no conceivable purpose. Such work would be quite aimless, as the pictures show nothing of Hindu life, religion, or fancy. But they probably show some facts of life hitherto behind the veil; for we can no more suppose that prehistoric man made them without purpose, than we can suppose that he made them solely for decorating his habitation.

Little can be said of the meaning of the pictures at present, for they have not yet been under proper examination. The best is that now supposed to represent Vitlappa, about life size, and by far the most carefully drawn. The great superiority of the work, and its being on a sloping rock, facing east, so that the sun shines on it at sunrise, suggests that it may have been sacred to the prehistoric folk as it now is to the Hindu villagers. The head is, unfortunately, almost covered by some black pitch-like substance, removal of which would displease the devotees of Vitlappa, who believe he will withhold the rain, or plague them, if offended.

It is needless to try to seek a reason for the disfigurement. If this figure was sacred of old, so too, perhaps, was the snake figure beside it. Seven strokes from the head tell us it represents a seven-headed snake. If this snake figure indicates the existence of snake worship, the picture is, perhaps, the most important of the series, as telling something of pre-historic man's "Pangs of hunger in the inconceivable," and the interest would be increased by the fact of the sacred snake being a seven-headed one. Snake worship in India,—the snake generally associated with a tree,—first noticed by Mr. Fergusson about forty years ago, is very common in South India as a cult apart, though correlated with Hinduism, which it pervades. Rude figures of snakes on stones are seen at every village well in Bellary and elsewhere, and piles of them at certain sacred places.

We see by two pictures that hunting was engaged in, and

that the bow and arrow were used for killing game. As no stone arrow-head has yet been found in South India, it may be thought the pictures suggest the use of iron for the tips. That iron arrow-heads were used at a very early period, is shown by the fact that they are found in the tumuli wherein are buried people who have passed even legend; and I have myself found a very good one in a tumulus in the Cuddapah district, east of Bellary. But it may very well be, that neither stone nor iron was used, for hard wood answers very well. Two arrows so tipped, which I obtained from a Kâni\* in Travancore, were exhibited at the Congress of Orientalists. The shafts are of reed, the tips of hard wood, and the arrows well balanced and serviceable.

Another hunting picture recently discovered by my friend, Mr. Knox, is of a man with upraised arm throwing a spear at a running deer. Behind the spear-head is a cross-bar, as if to prevent the spear-head going in too far. In the deer's neck is sticking a similar spear-head, almost balanced in its neck, so that it can be shown to be a spear-head. Some of the worked stones we found may well have been used for spear-heads.

One picture (not in the photos) shows that pots were used; two men are standing and stirring a pot with long sticks.

The long lines of men (or women, or both) may be captives taken in war. But whether they record wars or something else, they are pretty evidently part of a whole which may fairly be called "picture writing," the beginning of all writing. On one rock (in the photos) is what may be called an illustrative specimen of this "picture writing." On the left is some horned animal, apparently standing on its hind legs; it is very indistinct, and to say more than this is impossible. To its right is a T, on the left arm of which is a man (or woman?) with arms upraised; and again to the right is a man in a certain attitude.

Many of the human figures are described in a few strokes—a straight line for the body, a knob on the upper end of it

\* A pigmy Dravidian people who live in the forests of Travancore.

for the head, and crooked lines for the arms and legs ; and it is traceable how a man comes to be described, as on one part of the rocks, by almost a symbol—thus  $\nabla$  —just like a big D, with the ends of the perpendicular stroke lengthened and a knob at the top. Unless we suppose that the symbol were earlier than the figures (and I am unaware of any argument that could support such hypothesis), there is inclination to suspect that the symbol grew out of the figures ; for rapidity of execution, the male figure was more and more symbolized ; by degrees, and unintentionally, representation of it became more and more as a mere symbol. It is impossible to describe here the degrees through which the symbol has been evolved ; and it must suffice to say, they are very plain. For the same reason, it cannot be stated why some of the figures appear to be prehistoric ladies.

Some of the oxen appear to be tethered, implying, perhaps, domestication ; but perhaps, as in very young children's pictures, the line round the neck is drawn to prevent the animal in the picture running away. I did not observe any fetter to any deer-like animal.

During the Congress, Mr. Flinders Petrie very kindly told me of the existence of very ancient rock-pictures in Egypt, not yet properly examined, which are, perhaps, so little known, that, with apologies to him, I quote from his book, "A Season in Egypt," his description of them :—

"After reaching the mouth of the Seba Rigaba Valley, a straggling succession of graffiti are to be seen on the sandstone rocks. . . . The most important—i'hornician. . . . Along with all these inscription graffiti, is a vast number of figures of animals, etc., not necessarily connected with the graffiti, and in most cases wholly distinct, and of a different age. These figures have never received any attention hitherto, and their numbers deter one from copying, or even cataloguing them. They are of all periods, some probably done in modern times, others later than the inscriptions. Beneath the great mentuhap tablet, are several figures of giraffes, hammered in upon the rock face, and one of these

distinctly has interfered with the arrangement of a graffito of Amenhotep I. (It is possible that these figures are intended for camels; but the necks are quite straight, although raised upwards, and there is no hump shown, so that it seems more likely that they were giraffes.) With this certain evidence of such animal figures, we may be prepared to give full weight to the collateral evidence of their weathering and appearance.

“ One of the clearest cases is on the great isolated rock in the valley of El Kab ; there, alongside of graffiti of the 6th dynasty, is a drawing of a boat with a great number of oars ; and the graffiti are but little darkened from the colour of fresh rock, during the thousands of years they have been exposed, yet the boat is almost as dark as the native surface of rock of geologic age. This is no isolated case; repeatedly on the rocks of the Soba Rigaleh neighbourhood, the animal figures alongside of the inscription are seen to look far older than the graffiti of the 12th and 18th dynasties (about 2500 B.C.). There is a great range of colour of the surface by which to judge; the fresh sandstone is of a slightly brownish white, while the ancient weathering is of a very dark brown; the absolute loss of the rock face being probably not the thickness of a single grain of sand during thousands of years in most parts. Hence, while on the average we might say that the inscriptions of 4000 years ago are but perhaps one quarter or one half as dark as the old face. The oldest of the animal figures are, perhaps, three-quarters of the way toward the colouring of the primitive surface. The amount of rain-wash running down the face of the rock, makes great differences in the coloration; but in many cases we can compare figures and graffiti close together in such a way that all natural effects are equalized. This whole subject of these primeval drawings deserves full study by itself; my object at present is to give such an account of what I saw, while copying the inscriptions, as to ensure these representations receiving the notice which is due to the oldest remains in Egypt. The figures, of all ages,

include men, horsemen, giraffes, camels, elephants (from north of the Phœnician inscription, with tusks and trunks, and large African ears), ostriches, boats of all kinds ; one of the longest boats had thirteen oars, besides the steering oar, with a figure seated on top of the cabin, and an attendant behind it. It seems that many of the figures date from a time when the elephant and ostrich lived in Nubia and Egypt. Such is the case within the period of hieroglyphic writing, as the elephant occurs in the name of the island called thence by the Greek Elephantine."

So the oldest remains in Egypt are rock pictures, which are certainly older than 3800 B.C., for historical inscriptions are written over them. How much older, cannot be said ; and they may be *very* much older. Mr. Flinders Petrie most kindly showed me photos of these rock pictures, which are "the earliest remains in Egypt." They are much of the style of the Bellary pictures—not, he remarked, suggesting any racial connection between the people who made both, but both expressing primitive man's manner of portraying living objects ; a manner, a style which is the same in all traces of his handiwork, wherever found, throughout the world. Whether there is any connection between the rock pictures of the Soba Rigaleh, which Mr. Flinders Petrie has brought to the world's notice, and the succeeding hieroglyphic writing, will doubtless be fully considered in due time. That any such connection will ever be traced from the Bellary pictures, and the earliest known vernacular writing of the district, is not expected ; but when the little collection consisting of photographs, specimens of stone implements, bones, etc., has been examined, we will know more than the mere fact, itself of great interest, that the prehistoric folk of South India, of the neolithic period, made the first four steps in the path which leads up to the art of writing.

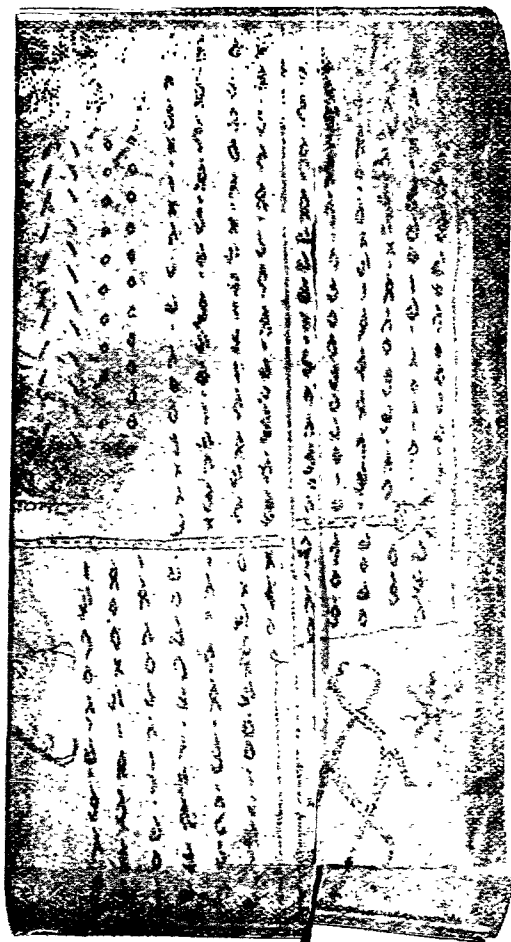
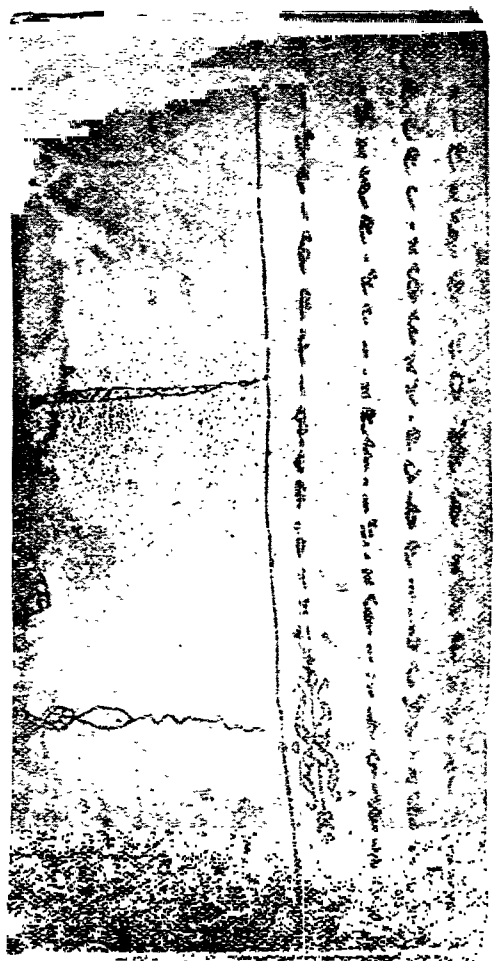
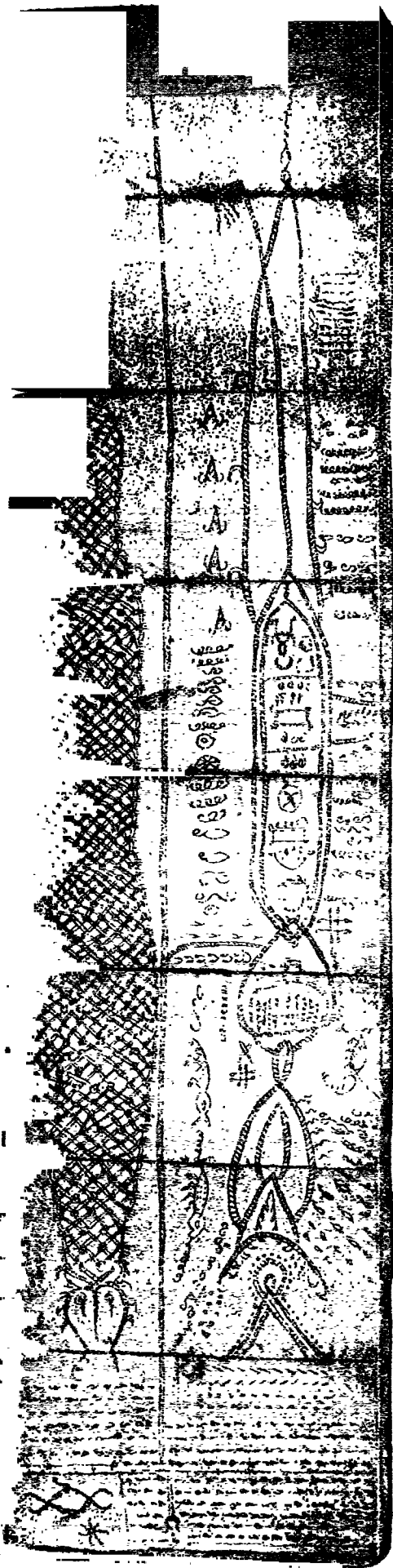
F. FAWCETT.

We have been favoured with the following illustrations of some of the Bellary rock-bruises by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S.



HAND-SKETCHES OF ROCK-BRUISED FIGURES, KAPGAL, NEAR BELLARY,  
SOUTHERN INDIA.

N.B.—THE BUFFALO IS DRAWN, AS IT IS, IN OUTLINE.—*R. Sewell.*

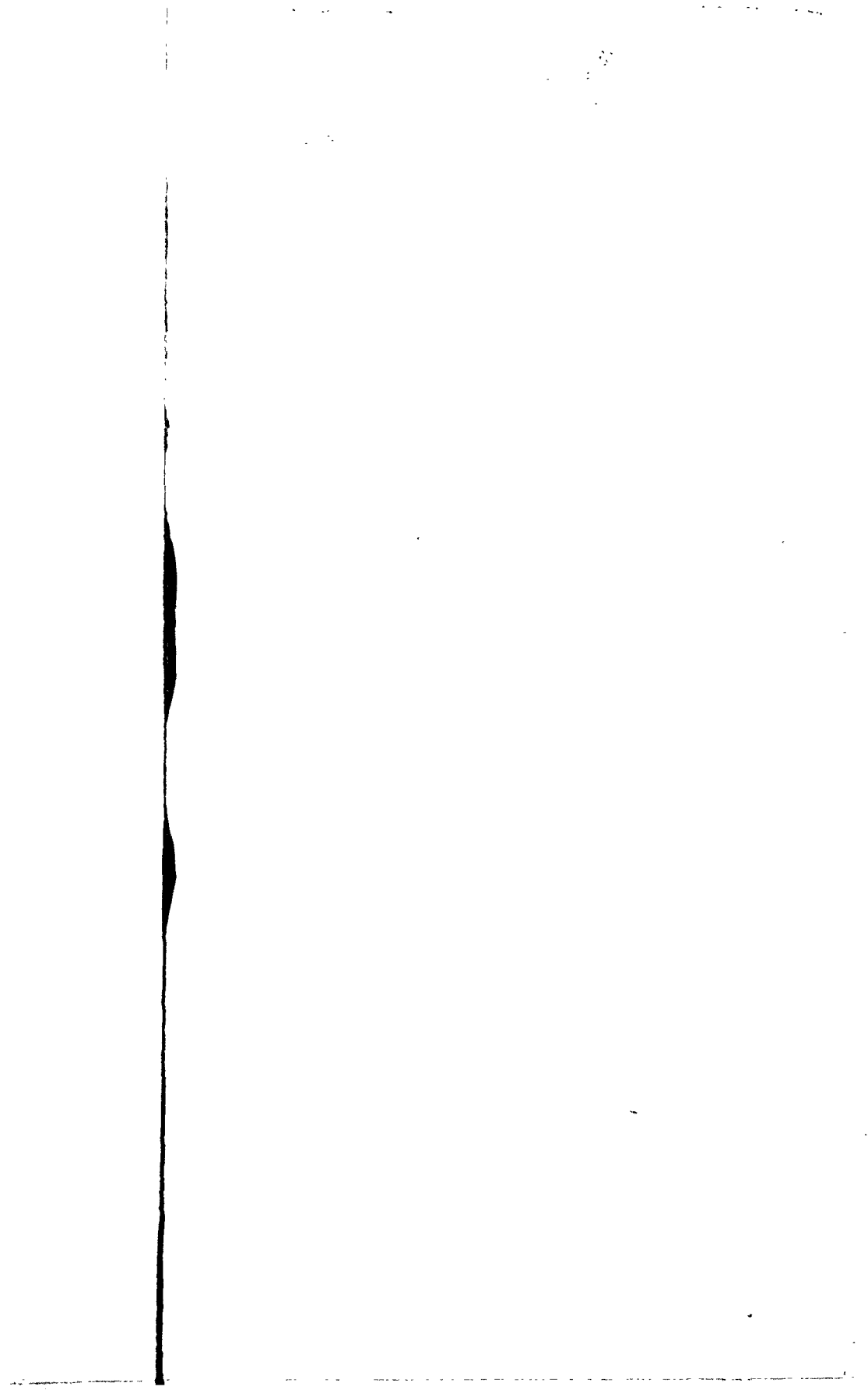


### THE BATAK-KARO (SUMATRA) MS. ON THE "MICROBE."

THE Batak-Karos of Sumatra, of whom M. J. Claine gave such an interesting account at the last Oriental Congress, were, I believe, first brought to notice in England by Mr. W. Marsden, F.R.S. In a work, published in London in 1811, Mr. Marsden refers to them as follows: "Their books are composed of the inner bark of a certain tree, cut into long slips, and folded in squares. Their contents are little known to us. The writing of most of those in my possession is mixed with uncouth representations of scolopendra and other noxious animals, and frequent diagrams, which imply their being works of astrology and divination." My own impression of them, without excluding Mr. Marsden's hypothesis, rather coincides with that of M. J. Claine, who, before the Congress and in an account communicated to *The Illustrated London News*, speaks as follows regarding the particular Manuscript which he submitted to the Congress, but of which he only left the photograph of an illustrated page (which we have reproduced in this issue, enlarging, in addition, the two tablets at each end in two separate photographs above the main illustration, so as to enable the text which these tablets contain to be read). This is M. Claine's description of it: "I was presented with an ancient book, which I have brought to Europe, containing an account of some plague; and this book is illustrated by very curious drawings, which seem to show that the Batak physicians, two centuries ago, had anticipated the modern theory of germs and bacilli." Unfortunately, he did not leave the book itself for the examination of the Congress Committee, which, however, has since received four similar Batak manuscripts.

In India, diseases are often ascribed to a "Kira," or "worm;" and a kind of toothache there, as also in more than one country in Europe, is ascribed to that cause. Believing that the Bataks were largely indebted for their medical and other literature to Hindus, I have referred the question whether the theory of living germs as the cause of disease is contained in ancient Hindu medical writings, such as Susruta and Charaka, to the eminent Vaidak physician, Pandit Janardhan. Pending his reply, the illustration from M. Claine's book is herewith published, in order to satisfy the urgent curiosity of some of our readers, and to stimulate inquiry generally, in which, I think, our Dutch Members are most likely to be successful. In the meanwhile, it is only fair to quote the statement of our eminent Resident at Selangor, Mr. W. E. Maxwell, who writes as follows: "I am familiar with Treatises in *Malay* on Medicine, diseases, spells, charms, incantations, etc., and some of these often contain rough diagrams, illustrating marks on the skin, cabalistic signs, etc. But I am not prepared to believe that Malays or Bataks have established any theory of the propagation and conveyance of disease by germs." I think that if Mr. Maxwell had seen the illustration which we reproduce, he would alter his opinion, for, putting aside altogether the positive assertion of M. J. Claine, supported by a Dutch official on the spot, a glance at the illustration not only shows a living germ, but a growing one, which, inter-





lacing with others, of every variety of size and shape, and accompanied by creeping, spider-like or bacillic forms or outsprays, becomes in the upper part of the page a framework that in the lower illustration is filled in and becomes an evident worm, with feelers, etc. From the original dot, or spot, to the star, the interlaced squares to the complete outline, the growth is one that seems to accompany that of a living being, even if it does not also mark the progress of the disease. M. Claine, therefore, deserves every credit for having first drawn attention to a subject, the germ explanation of which is inherently probable in a country of swamps filled with animalculæ even more suspiciously than the water at Calcutta, which led Dr. Koch to the discovery of the bacillus as the cause of cholera. It should not be forgotten that the Bataks are a literary people, although some of them may still practise cannibalism (a *raison de plus* in favour of the theory), and that the chiefs are the hereditary interpreters and guardians of the books on the "local history, in which epidemic diseases naturally find a prominent place," to quote from M. Claine's statement. M. Claine, be it remembered, is the first FRENCH explorer of the country of the independent Batak-Karos, at any rate in modern times. They have been constantly discovered and rediscovered. Nicolo de Conti, in 1449, says, "In a certain part of this island (Sumatra), called *Bateeh*, the people eat human flesh, chiefly of those they have slain in war." Barbosa in 1516, De Barros in 1563, Beaulieu in 1622, Ludovico Barthema in 1505, give similar accounts of a people, more than half of whom could read and write, who were proverbially honest, and had a certain polity. The transactions of the Batavian Society, as may be expected, swarm with references to them, yet they are practically unknown, for the Dutch officials care little, as a rule, about them; strangers are not encouraged to visit them, and their possible cannibalism, even were it more out of bravado regarding an enemy than appetite, is not encouraging to travellers. Yet Captain Sheppard, of the Madras Staff Corps, in 1876, went over much the same ground as M. Claine did in 1890, with the Controller of Deli, though merely for sporting purposes, and Baron Brenner (a member of the Congress) in 1886 accomplished an adventurous journey through the same country. Another member of the late Congress, the great naturalist, Dr. E. Modigliani, has just published a most admirable and profusely illustrated *magnum opus* on Nias, in which he mentions the independent Karo-Bataks, that have also been visited by Baron de Rast, von Haan, Meissner, Dr. Hagen, von Michel, Herrings, Haarsma, Feilberg, and others. We are, however, little concerned with the claims of *mere* priority. Manchester commercial travellers penetrated into the interior of Africa long before Livingstone; yet it is to the scientific explorer that credit is due. The Oriental Congress was concerned with the additions to *Oriental Literature* made by explorers; and after recognising the incomparable work of Mr. Flinders Petrie in Egypt, of M. Cartailhac in Majorca and Minorca, of Dr. Bellew in Afghanistan, of Capt. Malix in Libya, and Mr. F. Fawcett's prehistoric finds at Bellary, it also welcomed the addition of the suggestive Batak Manuscript, of which we reproduce a page in this issue, and hope to translate the text in a future number.

L. B.

THE SINDBÁD NÁMAH;  
OR,  
BOOK OF SINDBÁD.

A PERSIAN POEM, CONSISTING OF VARIOUS TALES AND FABLES.

THIS poem appears to have been written in India, by an author whose name is unknown, about the 776th year of the Muhammadan era, or A.D. 1375, according to his own opening words. A chronogram in the introduction to the work, supposed to be contained in the words "Farmán-i-a'alá-i-sháh" \* (the most exalted command of the king), would make the date three years later; but either of the years is sufficiently near for all practical purposes. The name of the most prominent person in it must not be mistaken for that of the sailor, familiar to readers of the *Arabian Nights*, for, as will be seen presently, the hero of the poem was a learned native of India. It has been translated into several Oriental languages, and versions made of it in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. It has also been commented on by Eastern historians, and mentioned in the works of Persian poets; and German and French writers have commented on the various versions; but, as far as can be ascertained, the only English authors who have brought it to notice are Falconer, who reviewed it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1841, and Clouston, who published a partial translation in 1884. These derived their knowledge of the work from the unique MS. in the

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 * f & = & 80 \\
 r & = & 200 \\
 m & = & 40 \\
 a & = & 1 \\
 n & = & 50 \\
 a & = & 1 \\
 ain & = & 70 \\
 l & = & 30 \\
 a & = & 1 \\
 sh & = & 300 \\
 a & = & 1 \\
 h & = & 5
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{rcl} f \\ r \\ m \\ a \\ n \\ a \\ ain \\ l \\ a \\ sh \\ a \\ h \end{array}} \right\} 779.$$

library of the East India Office. This copy is unfortunately very imperfect, considerable portions of the tale being absent altogether, and others having been misplaced in the MS. in such a manner as to render the piecing together of the different apologues, so as to form a connected whole, extremely difficult. Such as it is, however, it is well worthy of being brought to notice, not only as a work of a thoroughly Oriental type, fully as illustrative of Eastern manners and customs as the *Arabian Nights*, but also as containing variants of several apologues well-known in Folk Lore.

The poem commences, as usual, with an address to the Deity, and a chapter in praise of the Prophet, followed by two dissertations against fortune, and in commendation of contentment and retirement from the world.

The author then proceeds to state that he had had no idea of writing a poem and publishing it, or of diving into such a sea of difficulty, when the king, whose dignity and good fortune he exalts, one day told him it was not becoming to the nightingale to remain silent, or to the parrot to be without noise: that although he was clever and capable, he was nevertheless idle, and that he should therefore make such a trial of the sword of his pen as should endure whilst there were swords; and that he should therefore turn into verse some prose work, in order to perpetuate his (the king's) name so long as "Najah" (a certain star) should endure.\* The work proposed was the story of Sindbád. The writer promised to do as the king proposed, with the aid of God, if fate gave him the necessary time. It is in this place that the words of the chronogram given above, which establish the fact that the author was a contemporary of the Persian poet Háfiz, are inserted. The work was to be carried into effect in such a manner that for ages it should be proof against decay: the work accomplished by the learned master was to be so remembered

\* There is a play in the Persian on the words "Najah," and "naji," a prose composition.

in the world, that as long as the earth endured, it should not go to ruin, and should be proof against fire, wind, and water. After a few moral reflections, the tale itself now commences.

Falconer conjectures, from the words used in the first couplet,—

“One who spoke Persian, of Táji (Arab) descent,  
Said to me thus in words of eloquence,”

that the original prose story was written by an Arab in Persian. Loiseleur des Longchamps was, however, of opinion that the work was originally translated from Sanscrit into Persian; and this view is to some extent borne out by the fact that two at least of the fables are clearly of old Indian origin.

The following is a brief outline of the story. An Indian king, by name Gardis, was for a long time childless, but by dint of fasting and prayer, at length obtained a son, who was destined, according to the horoscope cast at his birth, to pass through a great misfortune and become famous in his age. Great care was taken with the young prince's education, but for some years to no purpose, until he was placed by the king, on the advice of his seven Vazirs, or Ministers, in the charge of a learned man of the name of Sindbád. Under this person's tuition, the prince in six months became a model of learning and wisdom, and was about to be presented to his father under this more favourable aspect, when the time for undergoing the calamity predicted at his birth arrived. He was warned by his preceptor accordingly, that in order to counteract the evil fate that was lying in wait for him, he must be silent for seven days, whatever the king might say or do to him; and presumably, for the MS. is deficient at this point, he followed the advice. One of the king's wives, who had fallen in love with the prince, begs the king's permission to take his son into the private apartments, on the pretence that she might extort from him the secret of his remaining silent. Leave is given, and she takes the opportunity to declare her passion to the prince, and offers to raise him to the

throne by poisoning his father. The offer being indignantly refused, the woman, afraid of the possible consequences when the prince was allowed to speak again, determines to be beforehand with him, and rushing into the king's presence, accuses the prince of making improper proposals to her and threatening his father's life. Shocked at the revelation, which he fully believes, the king sends for the executioner, and orders the prince's execution.

The book is profusely illustrated; and some of the most amusing illustrations are those in which preparations are being made for the prince's execution, the prince standing on a stool with the rope round his neck, and the hangman, in cocked hat and sword, preparing to haul him up to the gallows by main force. As a rule, the attitudes of the figures are grotesque and unnatural, but with this exception, the colouring and the elaboration of the arabesque quotations from the Korān on the walls are delicate and in wonderfully good taste. To proceed with the tale, however. The king's Vazirs, hearing of the king's order, hold a consultation, and determine to prevent its being carried out by one of their number going to their master on each of the seven days for which silence has been imposed on the prince, until the latter may be at liberty to defend himself, and relating tales to the king to expose the deceitfulness and wiles of women. Then commences the struggle between the Vazirs and the desperate woman, the king on each day putting off the prince's execution, in consequence of the impression made on his mind by the Vazirs' stories, and the next day reiterating his order for his son's death on the tears and entreaties of his treacherous wife. The former, however, manage to tide over the seven days of silence; and finally the prince, allowed to speak for himself, turns the tables on his wicked step-mother (if a co-wife can be so termed), and turns out a model of wisdom and excellence. He is again taken to his father's heart and raised to the throne, the king abdicating in his favour; while, most provokingly, through the deficiency of the MS., the reader is left in doubt as to the woman's fate.

Such being the general outline of the story of the book, it will be seen how aptly the details are fitted in to serve its general purpose of bringing before its readers a number of tales and fables illustrative of Eastern manners and customs.

The king is introduced as a world-conqueror, who is possessed of wisdom and power of administration like a Rajah. Here the inveterate love of Orientals for punning or playing on words at once shows itself, for the word "Rái," used for Rajah, is the same as "rái," wisdom ; and there are but few consecutive couplets in the whole work in which the author's skill in this respect is not displayed : for instance, in the fourth couplet, the same words "savád," and "khat," are made use of to signify environs and boundary line, which in another sense mean the blackness of locks, and hair or down on the face, respectively. The king's palace was not of stone or marble, but of bricks of gold ; and his kitchen was supplied with fresh aloe-wood, giving out a sweet perfume, for fuel. Abyssinia, and up to the boundary of Roum (Constantinople) and China, had been brought like wax under his signet ring. A hundred beauties (Turks) of China were his slaves ; his ancestors\* were Turks, and his name was Gardís. The crocodiles of the sea, and the panthers of the land knew his justice ; in his time the gazelles and the tigers had become school-fellows, and slept together on one carpet. Notwithstanding all this excellence and power, and that he was the refuge of the Khalifate, he had no son. (Here again is a play on the words "khiláfat," and "khalaf.") He had not the fruit of his heart in the garden of his soul. "What gain is there from this life of fifty or sixty years, when from this connection nothing comes to hand? He slept not at night, but was wakeful, and all day he was full of pain and care. God forbid that dry sticks should ever usurp the place of the cypress, or the crow take the inheritance of the phea-

\* The MS. is here illegible, as no diacritical points have been written ; but as "Barg" for "Turk" would make no sense, "Niákán-i-oo Turk," the reading suggested by Dr. Rieu, of the British Museum, is probably correct.

sant ; for when the gardener closes his eye, the profit of the garden of his life is scattered to the winds. The young man never remembers death : may grief and pain and death never fall to the lot of young men ! ” These quotations, by no means the whole of the reflections suggested to the author of the poem by the king’s circumstances, are given as fair specimens of its style, to show the wearisomeness of the task of wading through the interminable shallows of common-place with which it abounds, in order to arrive at the few deep spots of poetic feeling and pretty simile to be found in it, as a reward for one’s labour.

By dint of assiduous prayer, that key which alone will open the door of difficulty, the king at last obtained his desire, and a son was born to him. He sought for the child a nurse, who should give him milk, milk flowing like a cloud in spring. He summoned those who knew the stars from the earth to the Pleiades (*az Surá tá Suryá*), from the heavens above to the fish below, on which the earth is supposed to rest (*az samá tá samak*), that they might cast the child’s nativity, and was informed that after there should pass away a certain perplexity, from which the prince would escape through the blessing of good fortune, he would become prosperous, and his sword, like the sun, should conquer the whole of Hindustan from the East to the West.

When the boy was ten years old, he was given into the hand of a learned but very mild preceptor ; “ the precious pearl was delivered to the sea. Thou canst not say when sour grapes will become sweetmeats, for these drop rain that may become a sea, and worthless copper, by education, may be turned into gold.” It was not so with the prince, however ; his preceptor’s exertions were all in vain, for the boy did not know “*ab-u-jad*” (father and grandfather) from “*abjad*” (an arithmetical alphabet, in which the letters count for so much each ; as in “*abjad*” the *a* or aleph was one, the *b* or *bá* two, the *j* or *jim* three, and the *d* or *dál* four), nor “*Mohammad*” from “*Auhad*.” When you asked, “*How many are thirty ?*” he said, “*Ten :*” when you said, “*What*



is night?" he answered, "The moon." He called thorns dates; and when told to say, "Fire," he said, "Firewood." The father was naturally much disappointed. He had hoped that "this drop of hail would become a pearl,\* and that his pitcher would be filled from that fountain; that this mote would become a sun, and this crescent a full moon." He accordingly assembled the wise men of the place to consult, telling them that he repented having prayed for the son, who had turned out so unsatisfactorily; that it would probably have been better if he had followed the advice given by the sailor to his captain, to leave the affairs of God to God; that unleavened bread had not come out of leaven,† nor one spoonful of butter out of ten skins of milk. The wise men accordingly consult together, and one of their number, Sindbád, being called upon to undertake the prince's education, in the course of the conversation, relates the fable of "The Fox and the Monkey;" how the former took in the latter by flattery, and turned his conceit to his own account:

#### THE FOX AND THE MONKEY.

An old fox started along a road in search of food, and after going some distance found a fish lying in a dry place. Greatly rejoiced that his search had not been in vain, he yet thought caution was necessary, as it was unusual to find a fish where there was neither water nor fishmonger's shop. Accordingly, going along the road until he met a monkey, he knew that he had found the key to the place that was closed to him. He persuaded the monkey that the gazelles and wild asses desired to make him their king, that he might protect them against the lion, who was never satisfied with unjust blood, and were waiting on the road to give him the crown of rule from the crescent to the full moon. The monkey, deceived by this flattery, accompanied the fox to where the fish was lying, and was persuaded by the

\* Alluding to the belief that a pearl is formed by a drop of rain falling into an open oyster.

† Falconer conjectures, probably correctly, that the words "fatir" and "khamir" (unleavened and leavened) should properly here change places

latter that the food belonged to him by virtue of his superior dignity. Seizing the fish accordingly, the monkey was caught in the trap which was baited with the fish, whilst the fox, taking advantage of the position, obtained the fish for his own dinner.

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Having heard this fable, the others say to Sindbád : "Thou art more capable of teaching than we. Thou art the sea in waves, and we but a drop : thou art the sun in the height, and we but an atom. Thou art in excellence the full moon, and we as Sahá (the smallest of stars)." In reply Sindbád acknowledges that he is at least not inferior to his friends and, *à propos* to the situation, relates to them another fable :

#### THE WOLF, THE FOX, AND THE CAMEL.

A wolf, a fox, and a camel were travelling together, and had for their food on the road only one round cake. (Falconer translates the word here used a pumpkin.) After a long and hot journey they came to a pool of water and sat down, and came to the conclusion that the cake should be given to him among them who was the oldest. Thereupon the wolf commenced : "Indian, Persian, and Turk know that before God created the world, earth and time and space, by a week, my mother bore me ; I have the best right to eat this cake." The crafty old fox said, "Yes, I have no doubt in the matter. On that night when thy mother bore thee I was the skilled person in attendance. I lighted the morning lamp and burnt like a candle at the pillow." The camel having heard these words, came forward like a short wall, and took up the cake, saying, "One cannot hide a thing that is manifest. I with such a neck, and thigh, and back, was not born of my mother yesterday or last night."

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The other sages applauded the tale, and it was agreed that Sindbád should be recommended to the king as the prince's teacher. The MS. has been so irregularly bound up that it is impossible to tell whether Sindbád was or was

not the boy's original preceptor; but from the context it may be concluded that he was not, but was appointed to the post on the failure of the first, and, after six months, succeeded in instructing him by means of pictures illustrative of various branches of learning, drawn on the walls of a terrace erected for the purpose. Before he undertakes the task, he impresses on the king the necessity of not forming too hasty a judgment on the ill-success that had attended the first efforts made to educate his son, by relating to him the story of the elephant-driver and the king of Kashmír :

#### THE ELEPHANT-DRIVER AND THE KING OF KASHMÍR.

A prince of Kashmír had sent to him, as a present, an elephant that resembled a black mountain, like a ship with heavy anchors, with feet as the wind, leaping from its place like the wind of *Sarsar*, that like fire rose quickly up, and like water fell down from above. The king offered silver and gold and jewels, piled up as high as the elephant itself, if the driver would tame it. This the latter undertook to do; and spending three years in the task, brought the elephant back tamed. The prince, by way of trial, mounted on it, and it ran away without his being able to control the animal, to the extreme danger of the prince's life, until it thought fit to return quietly home. Enraged with the keeper, the prince ordered him to be thrown under the elephant's feet and trodden to death; but at last, moved by the entreaties of the man, whose hair had become white in his service, and by the sight of the children about to become orphans, he relented, and released him. The latter then put the elephant through a number of performances that he had taught him, and thus proved the animal's perfect tameness. The ill-success of the prince's teacher had arisen from bad fortune in the same manner that the elephant-driver had experienced it, notwithstanding his having tamed the animal.

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Sindbád now explains that the time of the prince's evil fortune has passed away, and promises in six months to

give him the result of thirty years' study. The MS. is deficient at this point; but it is clear that, notwithstanding the opposition of the courtiers and others, the prince was handed over to Sindbád for instruction, and that the latter accomplished the task by means of the pictures drawn on the walls mentioned above. At the end of the stipulated time, Sindbád took an observation of the stars, and was dismayed to find that a great calamity threatened his pupil. He consequently advised him to be completely silent when he should be taken before his father the next day, and remain so for seven days, until the days of ill-fortune had passed away. There is the following heading to the portion of the narrative that should have followed here :

“CALLING AN ASSEMBLY BY THE KING, AND SENDING FOR THE PRINCE AND SINDBÁD. THE RELATION OF THE KING'S QUESTIONING AND THE PRINCE'S NOT SAYING A WORD.

All relating to what took place on this occasion is however missing from the MS.; and where the thread of the tale is caught again, we find one of the king's wives, who has fallen in love with the prince, begging the king's permission to send for the latter and endeavour to discover the reason for his silence. Leave is granted; and when the prince enters the harem, the woman declares her passion for him, with the result already mentioned.

During the consultation of the Vazirs with each other, as to the proper course for them to pursue, one of them, being of opinion, that as they had not been consulted, it would be better not to interfere in the matter, the chief Vazir relates the tale of the king of the monkeys who would not listen to advice. The MS. is here again very imperfect, but the substance of the story is as follows :

#### THE FALL OF RUZBEH, THE MONKEY KING.

This monkey king, having gone one day up a lofty hill in his dominions to hunt, saw a goat butting at an old woman, and on his calling the attention of the leaders of his army to the circumstance, one of them, the commander

of the monkey army, says There is some mystery in the affair, and it is therefore necessary (for what particular reason is not stated) that he should expatriate himself. At this point there is probably an interpolation, as the MS. makes out that the king did leave his country, and another king was appointed in his stead. This in no way fits in with the rest of the story, which, after about a page, continues with the tale of the goat butting the woman, until at last, she one day, when she had been to get fire from a neighbour, and was enraged at the animal butting her so as to make the blood flow, set fire to its hair. The goat with its hair burning, rushed in among the rushes surrounding the place where the king's elephants were kept, and set fire to them, so that the elephants were burnt. The king, having inquired what could be done to relieve the elephants, was informed that the only remedy was to apply the fat of monkeys to the burnt parts, and accordingly sent out horsemen in all directions to hunt down the monkeys, among whom the commander of the monkey army was caught and presumably killed. It would seem from this, that it was the monkey king who considered expatriation advisable, and left his country accordingly, and that it was the general who did not follow the advice and suffered.

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The Vazirs applauded the tale ; and it was then arranged that one of their number should go to the king every morning and tell him stories about the deceit of women, so as to tide over the seven days of the prince's enforced silence. After enlarging on the king's renown for justice, the first Vazir warns him against killing his son on the mere word of a woman, saying that a woman is always a woman, of bad propensities and evil thoughts, crooked like a snake, from whom nothing straight can ever be hoped for ; that as long as the arrow has not left the thumb-stall it is within the control of the shooter, but when it has left the bow, or when a word has passed out of the mouth, all authority over them is at an end. God forbid that in the end he should have to repent, as the man who with-

out cause killed the innocent parrot, of which the story is then told :

THE SUGAR-SELLER, HIS UNCHASTE WIFE, AND THE  
PARROT.

A sour-faced sugar and sweetmeat-seller had a beautiful wife. He had also a parrot that acted as policeman, spy, watchman, bell, and caretaker, flapping its wings if even a fly settled upon the sugar, and that always told its master all that had taken place in his absence when he went from home. The man one night went out enjoining on the parrot to keep watch whilst he was away. His wife's lover, having discovered this, thought the opportunity of plucking a rose without fear of a thorn too good to be lost, and came to the garden where there was no gardener. When the husband returned, he inquired of the parrot what had taken place, and, after some hesitation on the bird's part, was told of the lover's visit. Thereupon he gave his wife a good beating ; and she, knowing that only the parrot could have given the information, determined to have her revenge. Accordingly, the next time her husband left his house at night, leaving it, as usual, in charge of the parrot, she and her lover planned a trick by which the bird might be deceived into believing a great storm had taken place during the night. A hand-mill was turned so as to imitate thunder ; the parrot was soused with water ; and lightning was imitated by a light hidden behind a dish being occasionally flashed upon it. When its master again questioned it in the morning, the bird described the storm that had taken place ; and the farmer, convinced that it must have lied about his wife as it was then lying about the storm, seized it and tore off its head. He was subsequently informed of the true state of the case, and bitterly repented his hasty action.

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The Vazir proceeds, in illustration of the deceitfulness of women, to tell another story. The details of this are imperfect, as a leaf is missing from the MS.

THE SOLDIER AND HIS LOVER, AND HIS SERVANT, AND  
THE WOMAN'S HUSBAND.

A soldier had for his mistress the wife of a tailor in the kingdom of Balkís \* in the city of Sapá (Sheba). The soldier one day sent his servant to her, probably to make an assignation; and the servant himself was entertained by the woman in place of his master. The latter, becoming impatient, goes to the tailor's house; and the terrified servant is hidden by the woman in an inner room, while she entertains his master. Presently her husband makes his appearance; but the woman's presence of mind does not even now forsake her. She bids the master draw his sword and rush from the house in an apparent fury; and when her husband enters receives him warmly. She then tells the latter that the soldier had come in search of his servant, whom, for fear of his life, she had concealed from his master in the inner room. The husband is completely deceived, and bringing the servant out, speaks kindly to him and gives him his daughter in marriage.

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The king, having heard these tales, determines to think the matter over, and remands his son to prison. In the morning, his wife comes again and demands justice, accusing the Vazir of corruption and desiring a new king every week, and finally telling him that if he would not listen to her advice, the same would happen to him that had happened to the washerman through his bad son. At his desire she then relates the story.

THE TALE OF THE WASHERMAN AND HIS WICKED SON,  
WHO WERE DROWNED IN THE RIVER NILE.

At a time when there was neither ark nor flood, in that dry year when there was no flood, there was a washerman of the name of Noah, who lived at the capital town of Egypt, beyond Syria. Like a mote he was all day in the sun, and like a fish the whole year in the water, and as a skilful workman could, with his soap, wash a black man

\* This was the name of Solomon's Queen of Sheba.

white. He had a wicked son whom he had named the Canaan of Noah, and also an ass like the ass of Jesus. When the boy saw his father in the water, he used to drive the ass in; and as he was continually thrown off, kept his father in terror lest he should be drowned, or a lion fish (crocodile?) should seize him and he should fall into bonds like Jonah. The boy one day rode into the water with such force that it went over his head to the depth of a spear, and when his father went in to save him caught hold of his hair. Consequently both were drowned.

The king on hearing this story orders the executioner to do his duty; but the second Vazir directs him to sheathe his sword for a while, while he expostulates with the king. In carrying out his purpose he relates the tale of the male and female partridge, who left their home on account of their neighbour.

#### THE TALE OF THE TWO PARTRIDGES.

Two partridges, in appearance like two souls in one body, or like two bodies in one garment, lived together in close intimacy. Being exceedingly harassed by a hawk that seized every young partridge, they thought it expedient to leave their native place. As they are consulting, the Hoopoe appears, and launches out into praise of Shiráz, whose dried leaves and thorns are sweeter than roses, whose stones are rubies and its earth gold; of Muslá (a suburb of Shiráz), a paradise, with the water of Rukná, like that of Káosar flowing through it, and of Jáfarábád with its pleasant air that is efficacious as the Messiah's breath. The partridges accordingly start off for their new home, where they live for some time, in the midst of friends, an ideal life, pictured in two couplets:

The joy of youth and the season of Spring,  
An affectionate lover (idol) and a river's bank :  
These alone are the new wine of life.  
Happy he who is within reach of such.

At last, however, came a dreadful year of famine, and the male bird went off to the City of the Peacock to procure



food, the female remaining sorrowfully at home. After some time he returned, and found the appearance of his wife much changed. Her neck was thin and her body swelled, as if she had been pregnant. His affection for her was at an end at once; and although she declared her innocence, he did not believe her, and tore her head from her body. Soon afterwards he found from the other birds that her changed form was the result of a peculiar disease, and in bitter repentance took poison and died.

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In further illustration of the deceitfulness of women, the Vazir tells a second story :

THE TALE OF THE OLD MAN WHO SENT HIS YOUNG WIFE  
INTO THE BAZAAR TO BUY HUSKED RICE.

An old and very pious man had a young wife, to whom one day he gave gold, and sent her out to buy husked rice. She adorned herself in Chinese brocade, and went to the shop of her lover, who weighed out her rice, and asked her to come in and rest herself. She accepted the invitation; but what then took place is left to conjecture, for another leaf of the MS. is wanting. The woman, as the story proceeds on the next leaf, is found excusing herself to her husband for not having fulfilled her errand and having lost the gold given to her, by saying she had dropped the money in the dust when a young camel ran away and frightened her. Her husband believes her tale, and gives her money again; and with this she goes off a second time to her lover.

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The king, having heard these tales of the deceitfulness of women, sends Joseph back to Canaan, that is, the prince to prison; and the next morning, Zuleikha (Potiphar's wife) returns for the third time to complain of the king's injustice to her, and tells him that if he does not listen to her advice, the same thing would happen to him that happened to the prince who, led astray by his Vazir, fell into the hands of Ghouls :

TALE OF THE PRINCE WHO WENT OUT WITH HIS VAZIRS  
AND SLAVES TO HUNT.

A young prince, tired of Court life, asks permission of his father to go out to hunt. His father tries to persuade him not to go, [in some couplets which appear worthy of a literal translation.—

The ancient man gave him this for answer :  
Saying : “ Listen to my tales, behave not as a youth,  
For hunting is an exceedingly bad thing,  
In its commencement it is bad, and in its end it is bad.  
It is not permissible with people of discernment  
That the falcon should pluck out the eye of the partridge.  
The gazelle of such tenderness and salt (grace),  
Is it not forbidden to the claw and tooth of a dog ?  
The pheasant so delicate, so graceful in gait,  
Is it not a blemish in the hand of the hunter and the snare ?  
In them there is neither pain nor oppression of any ;  
They content themselves with grass and thorns only.  
The widow said sweetly to the falconer :  
“ Raise thy hand from this evil affair.\*  
All are slaves of the Creator,  
All equally live by His decree.  
What gain is there from making them lifeless ?  
What profit is there in sacrificing an ant ?

The prince will not be persuaded ; and his father gives him leave to go, placing him in charge of a favourite Vazir, who is instructed not to let him go near a certain desert. The prince, whilst out hunting, is persuaded by another Vazir, one of evil disposition, to come into a tent and drink some wine, and is about to lie down to rest when a wild ass is started. The prince mounts and pursues it, and it suddenly changes into a beautiful woman, who avows her passion for him and leads him to her abode. This reached, she calls out : “ Come and see what I have brought,” and the prince is immediately surrounded by a swarm of black ghouls, but manages to escape, as it appears from a Greek version of the work, by uttering a prayer which causes the woman to fall down powerless.

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\* A punning couplet, “bázdár” meaning a “falconer” and “raise” as well.

The MS. is again defective, for the conclusion of this last story is wanting, as well as the commencement of the next chapter. The latter may be presumed to record another order for the prince's execution, and the delay of this on the representation of the third Vazir, who warns the king that if he kills his son, it may happen to him as it happened to the officer who killed the cat :

THE OFFICER WHO KILLED THE INNOCENT CAT.

[This is a variant of a fable told in the *Pancha-tantra*, where the animal that is killed is a mungoose instead of a cat.]

There was a woman in the city of Khatá, virtuous and far from error ("khatá" signifies error as well as being the name of the country), a woman of pure disposition, chaste and continent, and a fearer of God, the mirror of whose face only her comb and her own locks had seen.\* When could any stranger find a road into that house except a candle, and that only to a moth? The lobe of her ear only her ear-ring saw; and none saw her hand but a picture. This pearl died in child-birth: she tasted one cup of honey in kissing her son, and then drank the poison of death. The husband sprinkled much rose-water on that rose: the rose left the garden, and the rose-water was left behind. What is the house of the world? An inn with two doors, a halting-place on the road for the traveller. Thou seest not in it a permanent abode. The caravan alights and passes on. Since it is time to march, tie on thy goods. Why dost thou make thy tent-pegs so strong? Lift up thy foot; the road is long and far. Lay not down thy head, lest thou fall behind thy fellow-traveller. The husband provided a nurse for the child; but one day, when she happened to be out, the baby was left alone with a favourite cat, which, after a severe struggle, killed a snake that came into the room. When the father returned and found the cat covered with blood, he imagined that it must have killed his child, and without further inquiry killed the

\* This line is difficult to translate, and the words "azná mahrumán," those not privileged to enter the harem, have been omitted.

faithful and innocent animal, of course bitterly repenting his rashness when he discovered the real state of the case.

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The Vazir then relates another story to prove the deceitfulness of women :

THE WIFE WHO WAS TAKEN BY AN OLD WOMAN TO HER OWN HUSBAND.

A rich young man had a profligate wife, who, in his absence, used to meet her lovers indiscriminately. One day the young man went to a village which was his property, but returning at night asked an old woman to procure for him another mistress ; and she, knowing the propensity of his wife, but not knowing him as the husband, brought his own wife to him. The wife, seeing it was her own husband to whom she had been brought, upbraided him for his unfaithfulness, and dissembled so well that he had no suspicion of her, and appeased her by giving her valuable presents.

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The Vazir concludes by saying that there is probably only one woman out of a hundred who is free from deceit, and the king remands his son to prison again, and delays his execution.

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The next day, the damsel presents herself for the fourth time, and threatens to drink a cup of poison she brings with her, if justice is not done to her against the prince.

She relates next a story which is in the tenth chapter of the *Anvar-i-Suhaili* :

THE TALE OF THE MONKEY, THE FIG-TREES, AND THE COMING OF THE BOAR TO THE FOREST.

An old monkey, having through weakness become a burden to his family, takes leave of them and wanders away to gain his own livelihood. In due time he arrives at a delightful forest, where there are plenty of fig-trees with fruit upon them, and remains there at ease, eating fruit, but taking care to leave a sufficient stock for the winter time. A wild boar, fleeing from his pursuers, comes

to the place, and being hungry begs the monkey to shake down some of the fruit. The monkey obligingly does so, and gives him more and more, until there are but few figs left, and the monkey begins to fear for his own future provision. The boar begins to threaten him, and he prays to God against his oppressor, whereupon the enraged boar jumps on to a branch of the tree on which the monkey is. The branch breaks, and the boar, falling down, breaks his neck.

She warns the king that God may overthrow the throne of the oppressor in the same way, and so inflames him that one might have said, she threw butter on the fire. He ordered the chief courtier to bring fire and naphtha and firewood, and tell the executioner to burn his son up with fire. Upon this the fourth Vazir presents himself, and begs him not to be too hasty in killing his son on the tale of a woman. Since woman was obtained from the left side, what wonder that she should be of a crooked disposition? There is disgrace in crookedness, and salvation only in being straight. He then relates the tale of "the bath-keeper who took his wife to the son of the king of Kanouj." The details of this are too grossly indecent to be given. After this a second story is related of how an old woman put on an appearance of great piety, and cajoled a chaste woman, by making a dog eat hot things, so that water ran from its eyes, into believing it was her duty to console a young man who had fallen in love with her. There is evidently a misplacement of the leaves of the MS. in this place. The damsel probably appeared for the fifth time and related another story, and turning over from folio 86 to folio 127 (the intervening leaves being misplaced) we find but three pages remaining of what is evidently the first story of the fifth Vazir. From these three pages it may be called "*The Tale of the Lady whose Hair was cut off.*" Clouston suggests, probably correctly, that this tale relates to a lady who had dissipated with a paramour her husband's wealth, and the remaining fragment tells how an old woman cuts off her hair, and when her husband returns

home, persuades him that this has been done as a sign of mourning for his supposed death. It may be presumed that the king puts off his son's execution, and the damsel appears for the fifth time, and urges the king to put him to death.

The next story in the MS., apparently told by the fifth Vazir, is that of a woman who had an intrigue with her lover ; and when her husband's father, in order to convince her husband of the fact, took off her anklets while she slept, persuades her husband that these were taken off while she was with him. The details of the story are not fit to be transcribed.

In consequence of this tale, the prince is remanded to prison again ; and the damsel comes for the sixth time to demand justice, abusing the Vazir in various terms. In support of her prayer she relates the story of a robber, a lion, and a monkey :

STORY OF SALUK, THE ROBBER, THE LION AND THE  
MONKEY, AND THE DEATH OF THE MONKEY.

A caravan of merchants, conveying jewels and precious goods, alighted at a certain place. At night a robber of the name of Saluk went and sat among the beasts of the caravan, with the intention of stealing a horse. It happened that a lion was also prowling about to kill something to eat, and the robber jumped on its back and rode it about until the morning, when passing near a tree he jumped off the lion and climbed up into it. The lion ran off, and meeting a monkey was at first frightened, thinking it was his enemy Saluk ; but finding it was only a monkey, stopped and told him his adventure. The monkey laughed at him for being frightened of a man, and at the lion's instigation began to climb the tree in which Saluk was hiding in a hollow. No sooner had he done so than he was seized from below by Saluk and killed. The moral is, that people should not engage in conflict with their superiors in strength, as the fox cannot contend with the lion. The king, as on previous occasions, gives orders for the execution of his son,

and this brings upon the scene the sixth Vazir to remonstrate with the former. He extols the king's justice, and imploring him not to rely on what a woman says, relates the story of a hermit, who learnt from a Peri the three great names of God, by the uttering of which in prayer he should obtain whatever he asked for. The details of this story are not fit for repetition ; but the general idea is, that after consultation with his wife, the hermit utters one of the names and prays for a change in his condition, which, being immediately granted, turns out to be so horrible that he has to utter the second name in order to get rid of it. His condition then becomes so wretched, and so much worse than that in which he originally was, that he has to make use of the third name in praying to be restored to his first and natural state. The idea of three wishes being given to a man, by which he in the end gains no advantage, is common to the folk-lore of many countries ; but in none fortunately has there arisen such obscenity of ideas as in the present instance, or such unblushing argument been adduced in their support.

The Vazir next tells a story of how a merchant's wife was induced by an old woman to go to a young man who had fallen in love with her, under the pretext that he was a magician, who would reveal to her why her husband had beaten her. He had done so on finding under her pillow a piece of silk the young man had purchased from the merchant and given to a eunuch, an accomplice of the old woman, who had been consulted by the young man in his love affair. In the end a false account of the placing of the silk under the pillow is given to the husband ; and he not only believes his wife innocent, but begs her forgiveness and loads her with gifts.

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The king, being convinced of the deceitfulness of women, stays the execution of his son and remands him to prison ; and the damsel comes to him for the seventh time to demand justice. She warns the king that his son is in league with the Vazir, and relates a story of a prince who

went to hunt, and how he was deceived by him. Unfortunately the MS. is here so defective that the whole of this story is missing. Turning back to folios 87 to 126 inclusive, we find the next story, told evidently by the seventh Vazir, of "the King and the virtuous wife," the commencement of which is also missing. It tells of a king who was converted from the error of his ways by a virtuous woman, to whom he gave a ring by way of memento. The husband of the woman finds the ring and suspects his wife of having an intrigue with the king, but is soon convinced of his mistake, and begs her forgiveness.

The same Vazir tells another story of a man who had compiled a book on the deceitfulness of women, and was finally made captive by the wiles of a woman. In consequence of the impression produced on his mind by this recital, the king remands his son to prison again.

By this time the seven days during which silence had been imposed on the prince had elapsed, and he sends the Vazir to the king to ask him to receive him in an assembly of the nobles and courtiers, in order that the true state of affairs might be ascertained, that the Hindoo might be distinguished from the Turk, and Joseph separated from the wolf. The king consents, and as he sits in state the next day, Sindbád and the prince come in. The latter, in order to show that what had occurred in his case was not the fault of any particular person, but had been brought about by destiny, relates the following story :

THE MAN WHOSE GUESTS WERE POISONED BY A SNAKE'S  
VENOM.

A man who was the soul of generosity, from whose hand the heart of a mine became wounded,—that is, who would have emptied a mine in his liberality,—was entertaining a party of friends. He sent a slave girl to fetch milk for his guests, and she was bringing it in an open bowl when a snake, which a stork had caught and was flying with through the air, dropped venom out of its mouth into the milk. The guests who partook of the milk were poisoned.



The question then arose, "Who was to blame for this?" One said "The slave girl was the cause of the misfortune, because she did not cover the bowl in which she was carrying the milk." Another said, "The stork, because it carried the snake in its mouth." A third considered the snake was in fault, for spitting out its venom; and a fourth insisted that it was the host, because he sent the slave girl for milk without taking proper precautions. The prince replies, that it was no one's fault, but the decree of Fate, and proceeds to say that the misfortune that has happened to himself of being brought under a false accusation is also due to destiny.

The king, rejoiced at his son's wisdom, takes him to his heart, and gives ample rewards to Sindbád for the care he has bestowed on the prince's education, as well as alms to the poor and relief to prisoners. He then inquires of Sindbád how it was that the prince's education had so notably failed in the first instance, and that he had now turned out so well. Sindbád replies, that the wind of autumn comes not in the spring, that a newly grown tree does not bear fruit, that sugar is not obtained from the cane at once, and that the date-tree grows tall by degrees. He thanks God that the seed he has sown has borne fruit, and that he has been able to gather it.

The prince himself is then asked to give his own account of his previous and present condition. He replies, that young people are careless and do not consider the result of what they are doing, and tells a story :

A beautiful woman who was never happy without excitement, who was continually at her window looking out, who like a tulip did not hide her face from strangers, or like the spikenard conceal her hair, and who had no shame as to her reputation, one day went with her child to draw water at a well. There she became so entranced at the sight of a handsome young man, that instead of lowering her pitcher she put the rope round the neck of her child and let him down into the well. The child cried out, and the neighbours assembled and drew it out. The moral to be

drawn from this is, that youth is a season of madness, and it is only when a man arrives at old age that one can expect in him sobriety and freedom from desire. It was only as he himself advanced in years that he discovered the profitableness of knowledge and wisdom. Whoever has knowledge for his portion, wherever he may be, he will not be a stranger ; with knowledge one becomes fit to sit on high. As for the ignorant, he is better down underground.

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On the king inquiring whether he has seen any one cleverer than himself, he replies that he has known three that were so, viz., a child at the breast, by the inspiration and assistance of the Almighty ; secondly, a child of five years of age ; and thirdly, a blind old man. In the first case, when a young man went by invitation to the house of a woman, her child, who was lying in its cradle, rebuked him for the sin he was about to commit, so that he repented and went away, and ever afterwards led a proper life. The story of the child of five years of age is as follows : Three men agreed to go into partnership in business. When they had collected together a sum of a thousand pieces of gold, they agreed to deposit the money with a woman who was well known for her honesty and other good qualities, and made a compact that none of them should demand it back again unless the other two were present. After some time one of them, who was a cheat, devised a plan by which to obtain possession of the money. He got the other two to accompany him, on pretence of going to the bath, to the street where the woman lived. Arrived there, he said to them that he wished to get some clay and other things necessary for the bath from the woman, to whose house he accordingly went, leaving the others standing, and asked for the money. The woman objected to give it in the absence of the others ; but on his pointing them out to her she agreed and gave him the money. This he went off with at once.

As he did not return to them, the others suspected some-

thing wrong, and went to the woman to demand their money ; and, not satisfied with her explanation that she had given it to their partner in their presence, took her before the Kázi, who ordered her to pay the money. The woman begged for a delay of three days, to see what she could do ; and was walking home dejected and weeping, when a child five years of age, whom she met on the road, asked her what was the matter. She told him, and he advised her to go to the Kázi's Court and agree to pay the deposit back if all three partners were present. She acted on the advice, and the Kázi, much struck with the cleverness of her answer, discovered from her who was its author, and always afterwards sought for the child's opinion when giving his decisions.

At the king's desire, the prince now relates the story of the sandal-wood seller and the blind old man. An enterprising young merchant, who spent his time in travelling about and trading in different countries, heard that in Kashgar sandal-wood was more precious than gold, and accordingly invested all his capital in it, and proceeded there to sell his stock. When he arrived within two stages of the town, a sandal-wood merchant of the place heard of his arrival, and, fearing the effect of a large importation of the wood on its price, resolved on playing him a trick. Taking some sandal-wood with him, he pitched his tent near the stranger's and made a fire of the wood. The latter, smelling the burning wood, was astonished, and much vexed when, after telling the Kashgar merchant what he had brought with him to trade in, he was asked why he had brought cummin seed to Kirmán (a proverbial expression, similar to ours of carrying coal to Newcastle). The way being thus prepared, he was easily prevailed on by the Kashgar man to sell him sandal-wood for a measure of gold, or silver, or whatever he should ask. The bargain was duly ratified in the presence of witnesses, and the foreign merchant proceeded to the town. Arrived there, he asked a respectable woman, with whom he lodged, what

was the value of sandal-wood, and found he had been tricked, as it was worth its weight in gold. The old woman, moreover warned him against the people of the town, who were great cheats.

Next morning he wandered aimlessly through the bazaar of the place in a dejected frame of mind, and, seeing a man playing at draughts, asked to be allowed to play with him by way of diverting his thoughts. The man agreed, on condition that whoever lost should be bound to do whatever the winner desired him to do. The foreigner consented, and on being beaten, was desired by the winner to drink up the waters of the sea. A dispute necessarily arose as to the carrying out of the bargain ; and when a crowd collected, one of the gang of swindlers, to whom the draughts-player belonged, and who had lost an eye, accused the foreigner of having stolen one of his eyes, which were of the same colour as his own. A third cheat came forward with a stone, and demanded a shirt and drawers made out of the same material. The whole town was moved with the dispute, which it was evident would have to go before the Kazi for settlement. The foreigner's hostess went bail for his appearance in Court the next day, and took him home, where he told her what had occurred. She informed him that the sharpers of the town every evening assembled to relate their deeds of the day to an old blind man, who was noted for his acuteness, and advised him to disguise himself as one of them, and go and hear what the old man might say. He followed her advice. The first man who related what he had done was the sandal-wood merchant of Kashgar, to whom the old man said he had been taken in, for suppose the stranger, who was entitled to claim for his sandal-wood a measure of whatever he chose, were to demand one of fleas,\* how could he fulfil the bargain?

The draughts-player having then explained his case, the old man asked him what he would do if the foreigner were to agree to carry out his agreement to drink the sea dry, if

\* In this, Falconer's reading is followed as the most likely, the word in the MS. being "partridges."

his opponent would first of all stop the rivers and streams that flowed into it.

To the man who had demanded a shirt and drawers made out of a stone, the old man also said he had been taken in, for what would he do if the foreigner were to demand thread made of iron with which to sew them ?

Last came the man who had lost one eye. To him the old man said he would find himself in great difficulty if the stranger agreed to give him one of his eyes, if he would pluck out his remaining eye to weigh in a scale against an eye of the stranger, in order to determine whether what he said was true or not.

None of the sharpers conceived that the foreigner would be quick enough to hit upon any of these devices ; but the next day, when the matter came before the Kázi, the foreign merchant, who had treasured up the old man's answers in his mind, made use of them, to the utter discomfiture of his opponents, and eventually succeeded in recovering his sandal-wood, with a good sum of money into the bargain by way of compensation.

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Rejoiced at finding such intelligence in his son, the king asks his courtiers to whom thanks were due for this excellent gift. One of them says, to the mother, who brought him up carefully ; another, to the king himself ; a third, to the prince, for the way in which he had exerted himself to acquire knowledge ; a fourth, to the Vazir, who had protected him against the wiles of a bad woman ; and Sindbád ascribes the praise to God. The prince, called upon by his father to give his opinion, relates the story of a princess, to the following effect :

A king of Kashmir had an only daughter, a girl of great beauty. One day in spring she obtained permission from her father to visit a garden outside the town, and was sporting with her maidens, when there appeared out of a thick cloud of dust a black demon, who seized and carried her off. The king, in great affliction, issued a proclamation that whoever would rescue her should have half his king-

dom, with the girl for his wife as a reward. There were four men in the city, who undertook the task. One of them was a guide, who had travelled through the whole world ; the second, a brave man, who would have gained his desire even out of a lion's throat ; the third, a rider comparable to Rustam in resolution, and to Asfandiyar in fight ; and the fourth, a physician, whose breath was as the breath of the Messiah in healing. Hearing that the demon had his abode in a cave in the mountains of Yemen, they went there, and the brave man went into the cave in the demon's absence, and brought out the princess. When the demon returned and found her gone, he pursued them with a body of his fellows, which was defeated and scattered by the warrior. On their way home, the princess fell ill, and was looked after and cured by the physician. The king, rejoiced at his daughter's safety, opened his treasury and gave gifts to the poor and wretched, remitted taxes, and fulfilled his promise by giving his daughter to the brave man of the party, while the others were also appropriately rewarded. The moral of the tale, as told by the prince, is, that to a combination of circumstances under God's assistance was due his present as compared with his former condition.

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After this, the girl who had made the false accusation and the prince are both summoned to the king's presence, for the charge to be inquired into ; and the former weeps and confesses her fault, begging that her tongue may be cut out like a lily for the lies it had told. The MS. is unfortunately wanting again at this point, and the end of the girl's affair remains uncertain. One account makes out that she was punished, and another that she was pardoned at the prince's intercession. When we regain the thread of the story, Sindbád himself is making some remarks on the impossibility of avoiding destiny ; after which the king bestows on him munificent gifts for the education he has bestowed on the prince, and inquires of him whence he had obtained his intelligence. The philosopher replies, that reason had been his guide, and proceeds to repeat the

counsels which king Faridun had caused to be inscribed round his hall. They were as follows :

If thou hast wisdom and prudence and intelligence, lend not thy ear, as far as thou art able, to a tale-bearer.

A tale-bearer has only this merit, that he bears lies from Khatá to China.

Allow him not again into the Court ; give him not again access to thy privacy.

For from him nothing is manifested except the evil which should be drawn from him.

Be not careless of a bad dispositioned enemy, for carelessness is not allowable in any case.

Thou art busy, and he is in pursuit of thee, night and day, in opposition and contest with thee.

Have no compassion on the snake and dragon, for the one is a torment and the other a calamity.

If thou hast a friend of one heart and tongue with thee, go ; never be separated from him.

For a little sorrow trouble not thy friend ; against thy will regard thy enemy as thy friend.

If thy friend has fallen into any trouble, I adjure thee by God, remember his rights.

If thy friend become thy enemy, after a little dust (or perplexity) it will become clear.

Gather not up the skirt of kindness from him ; know this, that it is a wound that accepts a plaster.

So strive that he may become thy friend ; that in singleness of heart he may become thy plunder.

Take not counsel with any save the wise ; turn not away from such a true path.

Beware of the careless man, and of his schemes, of his talk, and his falsehood, and his writing.

Beware of a domestic enemy ; reliance on him is ignorance and madness.

Leave not a thorn on the path of the highway, lest suddenly thy own foot be wounded.

Him whom thou hast not known all his life, with whom thou hast not been in private for a moment,

With whom thou hast not been a companion in travelling (for in travelling a man falls into danger),

To whom thou hast given nothing, and from whom thou hast taken nothing—rely not on him if thou art wise.

Better is a demon whom thou knowest what he is, than a Peri whose condition thou knowest not.

As far as thou art able, beware; speak not except that which may be of use.

So speak that, if thou speakest again, it may be the same or even better.

Speak nothing in which there may be garrulity, for in every place there is a talkative person.

How can there be a fairer story than that of which the credentials are from Farídún?

After this, the king asks Sindbád concerning worldly affairs, and particularly as to who was fitted to bear rule. Sindbád replies, that he is the most fit who knows the capacity of every man, and what is due in respect to the aged and the pleasing of the young, and having known this honours every one according to his degree; for a child should not be directed to carry out a weighty matter, lest he become helpless under the heavy load, nor should a heavy bridle be put on a restive horse.

Various other questions are put to Sindbád, and all are answered with words of wisdom. The king then desires the prince himself, if he had the string in his hand, to bring some such pearls as his master had been stringing; and the latter enlarges upon the various moral duties of men in such a manner that the king is astonished, and lifts his heart up from the affairs of the world. Being seventy years old, he reflects within himself: "How long shall there be the morning cup and the drum and harp and flute? By thy arm and might and strength thou hast seized the head of the throne of Kaikhusro. Thou hast laid aside much treasure and wealth from the blood of the weak, and not with the hand of pain. Thou hast taken it from him who had nothing; thou hast delivered it to him who left it behind him. He that gave it was not a criminal, nor was he who took it deserving. Thus in the first place what



good was there in taking, and in the end what was there in giving it to that one? What profit hast thou from this life of seventy years, except shame and a distant perfume from punishment? Go, make thy eye blind to desire; prepare thy winding-sheet and provide for thy grave. Enough of thoughts of Roum and anxiety for Khatá; go, prepare thy provisions for eternity's road. Perhaps thou dost not believe in a resurrection, perhaps neither in resurrection nor coming to life. This pride is from the sound of the drum and the tymbal; wait till the blast of the trumpet reaches thy ear." After recalling to mind that former kings have passed away, and taken nothing with them, and warning himself against oppressing the poor, he exhorts himself to spend his remaining days in retirement and devotion, and rejoice in having such a worthy successor in his son. After this he goes into retirement for seven days, and sees no man's face. He has a dream, and on awaking from it summons his ministers and nobles with the prince and Sindbád, and says to them that the world remains permanent to none; the Lord of the world alone remains. "I have seen nothing in this life of seventy-five years but trouble and passion and pain and grief. If I had seventy-five years more, would that also not come to an end? My sight has become dull, and my strength weak. I know not now the base from the noble. When the form of an old man has become like a bow, know nothing better than retirement and seclusion. When the sword-wielding hand trembles, why speakest thou of sword and dagger? Shall I say what grey hairs are? The messenger of calamity, the herald of the cutting off of hope. The head whose hope is in its knees (in prayer) can no longer bear the crown."

After ascribing to Sindbád's good offices, the excellent position in which the prince now is, and inculcating on the latter various things a king should do, and others that he should avoid, he calls his son to him and seats him on the throne with the crown of Kaikhusro, which he himself takes off, on his head, and, erecting a suitable place of worship, retires to live there in rest and peace.

Having thus disposed of the king and the prince, the author of the book considers that the time for retirement for himself has also arrived, that he must of necessity creep into a corner. As the king had handed over rule to his son, the author leaves to his own glorious and dear son the book, more useful than treasure or sovereignty, that as long as there is Persian in existence, and the earth is below and the heaven above, his name may remain perpetuated. He concludes thus : "O God, withdraw not from me Thy guidance ; in the end take not away Thy favour from me, Thy aid beneath this quickly travelling vault ! In the end Thy work of good is good. For Thou art, and this my hope has been fulfilled."

It is of course impossible to give in a magazine article more than the merest outline of a work which in the original MS. numbers nearly 170 folios ; but it is hoped that sufficient detail has been given to show the general style of a book but little known to students of Persian literature. The MS. is, as already stated, unique in England, and efforts made to obtain another copy from India have as yet been in vain. The original story, of which this is a rhymed version, must have been composed considerably before the latter, for it is alluded to by Sa'ai, who died in the Hijra year 691 (A.D. 1291) ; and Daulatshah in his *Tazkirah*, also notes that a poem of the same name was written by Azraki in A.H. 527. The present MS. has, from internal evidence, been transcribed in India ; its many imperfections have already been noticed. In spite of these, however, it presents such a true picture of life at Oriental Courts in former times, and it is much to be feared in many cases in the present day, that the record is worth preserving. There are contained in it poetical ideas and pathetic passages quite equal to those in Háfiz, Sa'adi, Nizámi, and other poets, whose writings are better known than those of its nameless author ; and many of the illustrations, which are numerous, are worth inspection for the beauty of their colouring, notwithstanding the grotesqueness of the attitudes in which the human beings and animals depicted in them are made to pose.

A. ROGERS.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

### III.

#### KUTTEEMUNNEES AND A TULLEE-KHOR.

THE disturbed state of society during the latter years of the Peishwa's Government, the impediments to the course of justice, and the oppressive conduct of the local officers, occasioned the prevalence of a curious custom, not unknown in other parts of India, nor previously in this province, by which an injured individual endeavoured to procure redress through his own exertions. But the frequency of its occurrence during latter years caused it to be reduced to a kind of system, which has not even yet entirely disappeared.

A number of Jungums, or Lingayet priests, under the title of Kutteemunneewallahs, exercise a sort of censorship over the morals of the community, and levy fines for breaches of decorum or morality, which they apply to their own use. The chief of these are on the Nizam's frontier, in the turbulent country between the Krishna and Tungabadra rivers. Each of these keeps in his train a number of men of bad character, who are called Komars. Such women as are irretrievably excluded from their castes, the Kutteemunnee, as public censor, absolves from all former ties, and unites them by nikkah marriage to his Komars, who are generally men excluded from society for similar infamy of character. When a breach of good manners has occurred and been settled by the village community, the dissatisfied party may apply to the Kutteemunnee, who, if he chooses to take it up, writes a notice which he posts up, by means of the Komars, on the offending villagers, to the following purport :

“ I am he whose sword is always ready, the owner of the weapon which out-weighs the earth, the ally of the devil,

who dwells in the sky, sits on the trees, and resides in hell, in ancient wells, and in holy mountains, who shrouds himself in the clouds, conceals himself in grain-stacks and amongst the bushes surrounding the villages. He will not quit you, however sound your sleep, or however careful your watch. Within three days, if you do not settle this affair, I will destroy men and women, and put their bodies in baskets, and will display them in the market-place? Take care."

Having thus given warning, and made demonstration of his hostile designs by burning a small quantity of grain or cutting down a tree, the Tullee-khor remains quiet for ten or fifteen days. He then writes another notice, with the name of the injured party, and below it the first letter of, or some allusion to, the name of the person from whom he seeks redress. This he posts up at night, and at the same time sets fire to a stack of corn or straw. The villagers take the alarm, find the notice in the morning, and sending for the village Ganâchâree, or censor, order him to trace the offended person, at the same time levying from him who has been the cause of the quarrel a sum varying from Rs.200 to Rs.400. The Ganâchâree proceeds with it to the Kut-teemunnee and presents the fee; and the latter upon this undertakes to accommodate the dispute. But should conciliatory measures not be adopted, the Tullee-khor continues his devastations till they come to terms. The period allowed for the destructive process is twelve years; but whether it is to cease after that period, I do not know.

Tullee may arise from other and very slight provocations. Thus, when the people of the plains repair to the Mulnād for the paddy harvest, they receive their hire out of the grain cut. Some reapers pick out fine large bunches or sheaves, which the owner of the field takes away, paying them from the general stack. Conduct of this kind was resented on the part of a reaper by *Tullee*; and it required Rs 320 to make it up. Another cause is the unmeasured abuse in which all Eastern languages abound, and which, when applied to a female relative, sometimes induces the

person insulted to declare his marriage dissolved, and to make *Tullee* for a fine equivalent to his marriage expenses. Sometimes *Tullee* is resorted to when a man is taunted with stealing, as in the case of Kuleshanee Keucha of Lukma-poor, who really was a thief. He avenged himself by *Tullee*, and was blown away from a gun by order of Rastiah. Sometimes, even a man who has really committed a crime, for which he fears retributive justice, employs *Tullee* as a defence, like Kuttee Sakriya, a retainer of the Bágalkote Desae, who ravaged the whole Bágalkote country for twelve years. Such persons, however, whether their cause be just or not, are expected to give information of their designs to the Kutteemunnee, who would otherwise assist the officers of Government in bringing them to punishment. Tullee-khors were also in the habit latterly of seeking and receiving protection from powerful zemindars, who, seizing the pretext, employed their own followers to rob and plunder in the Tullee-khor's name for their own profit and advantage. Many of the principal zemindars in this district were noted for such practices; and some of them, as the Govunkal Naik, the master of a small village in the Munslee Taluk, attained great celebrity. Twelve of his followers were hanged in one morning for *Tullee*.

The Moog Tullee also must be compounded in the usual way. The Ganácháree goes to the Kutteemunnee, and fixes the amount of damage money, which is divided between the Kutteemunnee, the person affording protection, and the Tullee-khor. But a system latterly came into use, probably occasioned by the protection afforded to such desperadoes by the zemindars. This was called *Yederé Tullee*, or "opposing" Tullee, in which the objects of the original Tullee employed persons to devastate the property of the Tullee-khor and his defenders. This merely aggravated the general suffering, and indeed was only employed during the latter years of the Mahratta Government, when it had lost all powers of control, and the framework of society seemed almost dissolved.

One of the most famous Tullee characters in this part of the district was a person of the Reddy caste, named Magee Busya, brother of the head man of Magee, who left the village because his brother refused him his share in the family estate. He was a man of great strength and courage, and in his acts displayed a degree of generosity that ultimately saved his life. Among the stories yet current, they tell that on one occasion a party of ryots, going out to their fields during harvest to make the usual sacrifices and hold feast, took out with them a good store of dainties, and ten or twelve armed followers. The whole party was enjoying the good cheer when Busya, who had been concealed in a stack in the field, suddenly appeared. The men, followers and all, took to their heels, leaving their weapons behind them ; the women and children remained. Busya made them serve him with food, then leisurely washed his hands, made them strip off their jewels, which he tied up in his cloth, and putting the guns and swords on one of the ryots' bullocks, proceeded with the whole to the town. There he met the entire population turning out against him, but no one dared to approach. He restored their jewels to the women, and dismissing them without injury with their bullocks and weapons, walked leisurely off.

On another occasion he overheard two women of the village talking about him, one of whom abused him, while the other pitied and commiserated his condition. He seized a buffalo belonging to the husband of the former, and made a present of it to the other female, calling her his sister, and threatening any one with death who should dare to restore it. Such was the terror of his name that no one ventured to interfere, and the animal remained with its new mistress.

Orders had on one occasion been sent by Rastiah to all the villages of the division to seize Busya. A party of about fifteen armed men, who were in search of him, had sat down in the jungle to take a few whiffs of tobacco ; and as it was getting dark one of them observed that they ought to look out, as Busya might be about. Others said, "Let him come,

we'll soon settle him!" Busya happened to be close by, and coming near, he asked which of them would venture to touch him. No one moved. He then made at them with his sword. All ran away, and Busya wounded one or two in their retreat.

At last he was surrounded in the town of Chelgerry, on the Nizam's frontier, by a party of Rastiah's horse, and brought a prisoner to Bagalkote. There, though loaded with fetters a maund weight (about 80 lbs.) he practised all kinds of athletic exercises. He had concerted a plan of escape with a fellow-prisoner, and, watching a favourable opportunity, threw himself from the bastion in which he was confined. He was however retaken, and ordered to be put to death. Great interest was made for his life, and the wife of Yeswunt Row, Rastiah's chief official at Bagalkote, struck with his daring conduct, interceded on his behalf. He was pardoned and restored to his village, with the restitution of his rights, on his giving security for future good conduct. He lived peaceably the rest of his days, and died four years ago in the possession of the office of *patel*, or head man of Magee, his paternal village.

#### IV.

##### A BRAVE DEFENCE.

Dewan Gowda, of Reddier Naganoor, in Roan Taluk, a fine old Reddy Patel, told me a few days ago the following incident, that happened to himself, very illustrative of the state of this province before the British conquest. On the occasion of a festival in A.D. 1802, he had gone to visit Bheema Gowda, of Hoalkote, in Dummul Taluk, his near relation. That very day Bála Sahib Rastiah, who was then at variance with Bheema Row Moondurjee, usurper of the territories of Dummul, in which Hoalkote was included, marched against the village with 500 horse, 1,000 foot, and two guns, and attacked it at daybreak. Dewan Gowda, his brother and six ryots were the only defenders, and kept the assailants at bay for some time. At last, when all were wounded and unable to move from place to place, the enemy

mounted the wall with ladders and got into the town. Dewan Gowda then descended and, knowing the place, continued to fall on the assailants from the different streets, which were narrow and crooked ; and though he had little or no assistance from the others, he contrived to check the progress of the enemy till at length he was driven to his last refuge, one of the bastions, difficult of ascent ; and here, towards evening, he prepared to sell his life as dearly as he could, the enemy being highly enraged against him, and vowing his death. Bheema Row, however, having heard of the raid, was hastening to succour the town ; when he appeared in sight with about 300 chosen horse, Rastiah retired, and the villagers, headed by Dewan Gowda, weary and wounded as he was, rose against those who had got inside, and drove them out. He is covered with wounds, which he shows with a modest pride. Though a fine stout old man, he does not differ in manner or appearance from the other ryots. He is much esteemed for his probity and good conduct.

V.

MERCANTILE PROBITY.

There is an old Sowcar now residing in Dharwar who often comes to see me. He is a Goozrathee, originally from Aurungabad ; his name, Chetur Doss Sirji. He was formerly possessed of great wealth ; but having advanced heavy loans to Gokla, Bheema Row, and other Mahratta Sirdars in Poonah and this province, has lost nearly two lakhs of rupees. Nearly thirty years ago, Mahdoo Row, an accountant of Budr ool Zeman Khan, when the fort belonged to Tippoo, had deposited a sum of Rs.25,000 in in Chetur Doss' house. This sum was placed on a shelf behind the door of the inner rooms, while an equal sum belonging to the Sowcar himself was contained in his cash-chest on the floor of the same apartment. One night a gang of robbers broke into the house ; the strong box was rifled, but the money on the shelf escaped the notice of the thieves. No one knew this, however, but Chetur Doss himself, and in the morning Mahdoo Row never doubted



but that he was a ruined man. Conceive then his astonishment and joy when Chetur Doss explained that he alone was the sufferer, and that a lucky chance had preserved his friend's property.

## VI.

### AN HEROIC ESCAPE.

The Muhammadan princes of Mysore, adopting the policy of destroying and breaking down all old-established families in their different conquests, among those of other Poligars, or petty chiefs, had sequestered the lands of the Harpanhalli Rajah,\* whose adherents made many ineffectual attempts to recover them. In A.D. 1774, Humparsappa and Chintappa having taken possession of Kotoor, Oochangidroog, and other strongholds for the Rajah, Seyd Ghuffoor was despatched with 2,000 infantry, 1,000 horse, and 15 guns, to quell the insurrections. Having taken Oochangidroog, in which were found 200 prisoners (the rest of the garrison escaped), he proceeded to Kotoor, which held out for fifteen days, when the chief people, with part of the garrison, despairing of success, fled in the night; and Seyd Ghuffoor, on taking possession, found only about 100 prisoners more. All these were men of inferior rank, being common village folk; but, to strike terror into the country, Seyd Ghuffoor ordered that each should be deprived of his right hand. They were accordingly tied in a line to one large rope, close to Koturavva's temple, as cattle are fastened at night. Each individual was guarded by two men with drawn swords, and the troops were drawn up in line, the horse behind the infantry. When the work of mutilation had proceeded some time, the ground covered with blood, and many of the unfortunate wretches lying insensible on the ground, one of those remaining, named Khawas Chenna Viriah, said to the man next him, that it was better to rush on the guards and be killed at once than suffer such agony; but the latter refused, and was soon after led out and muti-

\* Harpanhalli and all the other places mentioned in this anecdote are in the present district of Bellary. [R. S.]

lated. The next in line was Chenna Viriah, who, the instant he was unloosed, threw himself on the guards, knocked one down, seized his sword, killed the other, and started off. Seyd Ghuffoor immediately directed pursuit, but ordered him to be taken alive, and promised a large reward. He was three or four times overtaken ; but, being determined not to yield with life, and the orders to take him alive being imperative, he always escaped, killing or wounding some of his pursuers, till, on reaching the Gudikota jungle, he eluded the chase, and got clear away. Chenna Viriah now lives in the village of Nandibandi, where the Harpanhalli Rajah, on his restoration by the British Government, granted him lands. He walks about with a club, but never carries arms.

## VII.

### MAHRATTA CHIVALRY.

Among the retainers of Dowlat Row Ghorpade were two brothers, his relations, named Yeswant Row and Mallojee Row Ghorpade. They were in the habit of levying black mail from the districts of Nurgoond, Dummul, and Copal, a refusal of which was, as usual, resented by driving the cattle, plundering, etc. The zemindars of these three places, more powerful than the generality of their class, resolved, in A.D. 1773, to oppose the exactions of the Mahrattas. Watching their opportunity, whilst the two Ghorpades were on a foraging expedition, and had seized on the cattle of Hurlapoor in Dummul Taluk, and those of a village in the Copal district, the three zemindars secretly assembled their followers to the number of 500 horse and 3,000 foot, with which they formed an ambush between Kookanoor and Kulloor. The Ghorpades, returning with 300 horse and the cattle they had lifted, on approaching their own confines, sent on the latter with the bulk of the horsemen, while the two chiefs and about forty followers came leisurely behind. The ambush offered no opposition to the first body, but rose against the second, and attempted to cut them off. The Mahrattas, however, being better mounted and all good soldiers, were retreating with considerable ease, keeping the

foremost of their pursuers at bay without difficulty, when one of the zemindars called out to Yeswant Row, in a taunting manner, that he styled himself "*Ameer-ool-oomrah*," and wore a *Sirje* \* as his crest, and yet he feared to turn and face the assault of an enemy. Stung at the imputation, he wheeled round, and, striking down several men, he got so completely into the body of the enemy, that he was surrounded, his horse killed, and himself badly wounded. He endeavoured to disengage the *sirje* from his bridle, as it would have been dishonourable to escape without it; but in the act of loosing it he was killed. Mallojee, on seeing the predicament of his brother, hastened to his assistance, followed by about thirty of his men. Being considerably in advance, he was severely wounded in upwards of twenty places, and was only able, with the greatest difficulty and after severe loss, to recover the dead body of his brother and the *sirje* which had occasioned the disaster. With these he escaped to Yelboorga, whither also Dowlat Row, on hearing the melancholy event, joined him, and soon afterwards gave him the village of Kulloor in reward for his gallant conduct. Mallojee Row recovered from his wounds, and afterwards joined his relation, the famous Morári Row, and was killed at Gooby in an action against the Mysore troops.

## VIII.

### COSTLY CHARITY TO STRANGERS.

[This Note was written by Sir Walter Elliot, about the year 1829.—R. S.]

The following incident was related to me by Bheemajee Timajee, Koolkarneet† of Somankuttee, near Ramdroog, to whose grandmother the circumstance occurred.

About forty-five years ago, whilst Tippoo Sooltan had possession of the Southern Mahratta country, Kone Row

\* The *Sirje* is a fabulous heraldic animal, the image of which, worn on the top of the bridle, pledges the rider never to decline the combat whensoever challenged.

† Village accountant. These officials are, as a rule, amongst the best educated and most influential members of the village community.

was Amildar\* of Hoongoond, and Bishto Punt of Badámeé, both of them distinguished for their acts of liberality and charity, particularly to poor and distressed Bramins. In 1784 A.D., about 300 Brahmins, flying from the persecutions in Mysore, were on their way to solicit the protection and assistance of these persons. They had set out from Nurgood in the morning, and marched twelve miles to Soman-kuttee, where they arrived about two o'clock p.m., and sat down under a large tree on the bund† of the tank. It was the hottest part of the year, and the party was overcome with fatigue and thirst. The eastern part of the Dooáb is very ill supplied with water, many villages being totally unprovided with this necessary; and all except those on the Malpurba river suffer severely during the hot weather, which is here very excessive. The people of Somankuttee at this season are obliged to travel a distance of three miles for water, which they bring on their bullocks, each animal carrying four pots. Bheemajee, the Koolkarnee, seeing the distress of the Brahmins, brought water from his own house which had been so carried, and offered it to them. But they, being of very high caste, and strict in all their observances, were prohibited from drinking water that had not been brought according to rule by a Brahmin who had previously bathed and purified himself, whereas this, carried on bullocks and filled by the Koolkarnee's servants, was utterly unfit. They therefore continued sitting in great distress, several having fainted under the burning sun, while the poor Koolkarnee sat looking on in great tribulation at the idea of some of them dying in his village without his having the means of affording relief. At length he recollected that several ryots of the village had that year carried their cotton crops to the market of Wallajahnuggur in the Carnatic and had brought back a return of cocoanuts, which they were selling in the country. He immediately purchased fifteen bullock-loads, the milk of which,

\* Head of a táluk, or division of a district.

† Artificial embankment.

causing the Brahmans to put on their solês,\* he gave them to drink. All were relieved; and thus refreshed by the Koolkarnee's liberality, they proceeded to Tallikal, about six miles further.

## IX.

## SKETCH OF A SOUTHERN MAHRATTA LEADER.

The following sketch of the life of Bheema Row Mondurga,† a man who acted a prominent part in the troubled scenes of the Southern Mahratta country before it fell under British rule, contains several incidents illustrative both of individual character and of the state of society at the period. The information was obtained chiefly from Bheema Row's son, who was in the public service; and I have also heard most of the facts related by many people at Dummul, his contemporaries and eye-witnesses of what they told.

Bheema Row *Timajee* was son of the Koolkarnee, of Kalkerry, and a retainer of a still more powerful zemindar, the Desae of Dummul. His parents died when he was young, and he remained in the house of his relations till he was twelve years old, when he set off to try and obtain some means of livelihood, and reached Punderpoor. There he was seen by a man named Kristnappa Naik, an old man without family, whose wife, learning from the boy that he was an orphan and friendless, took him into their house and treated him like one of the family. He remained there two years, assisting the old man in his business, about which time Narsingáchári, his relation, happening to be at Punder-

\* The solê is a cincture of silk cloths, the only garment worn by Brahmins when eating, and reserved specially for that purpose.

† *Note.* I knew this family well. His young son, M. Runga Rao, on the conquest of the Southern Mahratta country, was befriended by the late Mr. St. John Thackeray, the Political Agent and Principal Collector, who attached him to me when I joined my first district. He became my Munshi, or Secretary, during the whole of my service in that district, from 1823 to 1843. [W. E.]

For an account of Mr. Thackeray's tragical death, see the sketch of the life of Sir Walter Elliot (*above*, vol. I., p. 186). [R. S.]

poor, recognised him and persuaded him to return, the old man giving him a present of Rs.400 for his marriage expenses.

About this time (*i.e.* about A.D. 1790) Tippoo Sultán had seized upon all the private estates in his newly-acquired territories of Bellary, etc., and, among others, had dispossessed the Raja or Poligar of Harpanhalli of his principality. This chief made frequent attempts to recover his patrimony, both through his own exertions and those of his friends, among whom he numbered the neighbouring Deşae of Dummul. He accordingly applied to him for succour. The young Bheema Row had not long returned to his family, and his enterprising spirit prompted him to undertake the expedition. He went across the river with about 500 men raised in his own villages, and took possession of the village of Huggarnoor, in the name of the Harpanhalli Rajah.

The Musalman governor of the province immediately marched to the place with a strong force, and after three days' fighting the garrison—having exhausted their ammunition—capitulated. The Muhammadan commander ordered all the prisoners to be bound, and sentenced them each to lose a hand; but Bheema Row was confined separately and no order given regarding him. He no sooner heard, however, that the order of mutilation had gone forth than he requested the chief to pardon the poor followers, who had only acted under the orders of their superiors, and to accept his own hand in redemption of theirs. The Musalman consented, and ordered his soldiers to "strike off the Bramin's right hand to mar his writing," which was done accordingly. His followers carried him away, and ever after continued most staunch in his cause, and contributed to his support during his recovery, which was both long and doubtful.

Bheema Row's patrimonial estate in Kalkerry had, for some time, been resumed by the Nizam's Government, to whom that district belonged, and an old ryot of the

Dhungar\* (shepherd) caste, who was much attached to the family, urged Bheema Row to attempt the recovery of his lands; but the latter declared he was too poor, and that it would be quite impossible without presenting large nuzzers. The old man carried him out to his field alone, and, digging in a certain spot, showed him a pot filled with coins, which he had never counted, but the whole of which he offered to the son of his old master. Bheema Row wished to borrow half, but the old man would not hear of it. He retained the amount of two years' rent only, and compelled Bheema Row to take the rest. On counting it, he found the sum to be about Rs.12,000, with which, and with another Rs.8,000 which he raised in other quarters, chiefly from his own ryots, he went to Copaldroog, and obtained, not only the restitution of his patrimony, but the management of the whole Kalkerry District, averaging Rs.20,000 per annum. From this he continued to prosper; and making good use of his interest with the Nizam's officers, he not only obtained several new grants of lands, but the management of a whole taluk, paying a revenue of Rs.100,000 per annum.

In this state he continued about six years, enjoying great prosperity; but the rest of his life was a continued scene of strife and contention to the time of his death.

When the Muhammadan rulers of Mysore obtained possession of the Southern Mahratta country, they pursued their usual policy of destroying all the great families, and resuming their estates. Among these was the Deşae of Dummul, and the Sir Deşae, the ancient chief to whom Bheema Row's family had long been attached. The Deşae was for many years a pensioner of the Peishwa, receiving a yearly allowance of Rs.5,000; but his villages were not restored when the province was given back to the Mahrattas. Shortly before the destruction of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo, he had made some attempt to recover

\* The Dhungars are remarkable for their simplicity and sincerity of character. They are good industrious ryots, and, though so ignorant that they can scarcely tell the amount of their rent, often attain great prosperity.

his old patrimony, and had written to Bheema Row, asking him to exert himself in the cause. The latter did not fail, and the Deşae took the field at the head of a predatory force. He was expelled from Dummul by General Wellesley soon after, and was hanged over his own gateway. Bheema Row, the chief actor in the affair, escaped, and taking the infant son of the Deşae under his protection, he assumed the whole management of the estate. After General Wellesley's summary proceedings, only two villages of the old Dummul estate remained in Bheema Row's hands. Sukkaram Row Shahjee then took possession of Dummul, and after a year, it became included in the extensive grant made to Bapu Gokla by the ex-Peishwa, comprising, Nowlgowd, Dummul, and most of the country in that neighbourhood. Under him, Bheema Row administered the Dummul territory for twelve years, during part of which, he maintained a mortal feud with Bala Sahib Rastiah for the possession of some frontier villages in the neighbourhood of Rone. The whole country was laid waste, and is now an extensive jungle, filled with wild hog and *nilgai*.\* The last four years (from 1806) he was engaged in a dispute with Nagana Gowda, who administered the whole of the districts of about nine lakhs per annum, between the Tangabhadra and Kistna rivers, belonging to the Nizam, in which was included the Kalkerry estate. During the quarrel, Bheema Row renounced the superiority of the Nizam's officers, and declared that he held Kalkerry from the Gokla, on the part of the Peishwa. Bheema Row contrived to foil every effort of Nagana Gowda to oust him, and finally annexed the disputed district to the Mahratta State, as part of which it fell under the authority of the British Government, and is now incorporated in the Dummul Taluk of the Southern Mahratta country. The district suffered severely from Nagana Gowda's raids.

It was during this disturbed period of his career, when he

\* The hog abounded to such a degree when the district was re-peopled, during the first years of the British Government, that the ryots had great difficulty in paying their rents. Mr. Thackeray therefore exacted from the ryots a certain number of tusks every month, which for some time were paid very regularly.



sometimes maintained a body of several thousand horse, that three Pathan soldiers, in the reckless disposition characteristic of their tribe, having taken offence at some real or imagined grievance, seized upon the only son of Bheema Row, and barricading themselves in a house, threatened to destroy themselves and the child unless their demands were complied with. The stern and decided character of the chief indisposed him to yield to intimidation what he would not grant to a free request; and though the birth of this only child had been the object of his wishes for many years, he ordered some guns to be placed against the gate, and refused to adopt conciliatory measures. At length, after a whole day of suspense, his friends promised to furnish the Pathans with a sum of money and a good horse each, and to give a free passage across the frontier. The child was released, and the men set forth. But Bheema Row, ordering some horsemen to follow, put them to death within a few miles of Dummul. "It was by such departures from good faith," said his son (the child above mentioned) to me, "that in the end lost my father his life and property, and reduced his family to obscurity."

In 1810, Gokla, who had long been jealous of Bheema Row's power and ability, which was augmented by the partiality evinced by the Peishwa towards him during his first pilgrimage to the temple Kartik Swamy, at Sandur, in 1808-9 (in consequence of which Bajee Row subsequently expressed a wish to see him at Poona) resolved on his destruction. It was not easy to entrap a person of Bheema Row's vigilance and foresight. At length, however, under a solemn pledge of safety, confirmed by oath, he induced him to pay him a visit in his fort. Though strongly dissuaded, Bheema Row attended, was seized, and carried to the strong castle of Sawundutty, and there poisoned, as the native version has it, by a powdered diamond being mingled in his drink. Four villages in Dummul district were allotted for the support of his family, which they still hold. The remark of Bheema Row's son regarding his father's insincerity, applies equally well to Gokla's treachery, who seven years afterwards lost his possessions and his life at Ashtu.

X.

AN HONEST INSOLVENT.

[This seems to be one of Sir W. Elliot's earliest Notes. The honourable and straightforward behaviour of all concerned may little interest the general reader ; but the story is not without significance to those who have resided in India.—R. S.]

Afzulpoor Gungappa was the grandson of a flourishing merchant of Bâgalkote, Afzulpoor Nandappa, who had a capital of Rs.200,000 and agents at Merij, Poona, Nagpoor, etc. By family divisions among his descendants, Gungappa only inherited about 15,000 to 20,000 Rupees ; but by the established credit of the house, his annual ventures extended to even Rs.60,000. Ten years ago, as his trade was flourishing, he spent about Rs.50,000 on religious observances. Two years later, before he had repaired his extravagance, he suffered considerable losses ; for prices fell through the influx of European articles, and consumption diminished after the British conquest. His silk investment caused a loss of 25 per cent., and he became insolvent in 1826. A Commission of Bankruptcy was chosen among his chief creditors to manage his estate. They began by declaring their perfect confidence in the good faith and honour of Gungappa, and that they would accept his own statement of his property, without examining his accounts. So Gungappa prepared a schedule of his effects. From this the Commission deducted the ordinary jewels of his wife and daughters and Rs.800 for his own subsistence. The rest yielded nearly 25 per cent. This all accepted. Only two or three creditors from Bombay disagreed. Such, however, was Gungappa's sense of justice, that though the proceedings of the Commission were instituted and confirmed by the officers of Government, he actually tried to conciliate even those few dissatisfied creditors, by giving the jewels and the small sum granted for his subsistence to increase their dividends. He did this quite secretly, and he always denied it ; but no doubt exists of the fact. He has always borne the character of a just man, prompt to fulfil his own obligations, slow to exact them from others. These circumstances occurred under my own observation ; and I was greatly struck by the probity, justice, and humanity shown by all parties.

## THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

ZEUS combined with Μῆτις, intelligence. *Ment* signifies intelligence, or thought. By dropping the *n* and adding the suffix, the Greeks made *Metis*, the origin of the Latin *mens*, —*mentis*. This union produced *Athena*, Αθηνᾶ, Minerva, from the brain of Dios. Although the Greeks have never been able to supply any derivation for Αθηνᾶ, it is clear in Albanian. *Thane* and *thene* signify to say *E-thana* and *E-théna*, the “word.” The word, or λόγος, of the Pelasgians proceeded from *Zeus* the “force,” and *Metes* the “intelligence.”

Ἥρα, the Hera of the Greeks, is the “air,” ἐρ,έρα. Nemesis, Νέμεσις, is *neme*, *nemes*, malediction, or what attracts evil. Erinnēs, Εριννώδες, *erh*, *erhni*, darkness, *rhénée*, *rhenime*, ruins, destruction. Muse, Μοῦσαι, *mesoï*, *musoï*, I teach. *Musois*, he who instructs, inspires. *Thetis*, Θέτις, *Deti* (Otheti) is the sea. Aphrodites, \* Αφροδίτη, Venus, *Afer-dite*, “near dawn,” the morning star as it rises. *Delos* is dedicated to the Sun, and adds the suffix. Latona bears Diana, Σελήνη. *Han* and *Hana* is the moon, of which Diana is the symbol, *Diel-han*. Selene, Λένη, means “birth,” *Zaa-lene*, *zee-leni*, the goddess presiding over births.

These instances could be indefinitely extended. Whenever a word is found in any language which has no root in that language, it must be sought as an extraneous word in some other, as may be exemplified by our Hebrew Christian names; and it must be remembered, the Greek deifications came through the Pelasgians.

The old Pelasgic faith, notwithstanding the co-existence of two other creeds in Albania, still maintains its hold on that uncultivated folk; so much so, that the most solemn oath that can be taken, is not by the invocation of Christ, or

This is the only word bearing a Greek derivation (ἀφροδίτη) of or belonging to foam; but it by no means accords with the attributes of Venus, the impersonification of sexual desire.

the saints, or Muhammad, but by the "stone." Thus, when a question of boundaries between two clans arises, the elders of the two contentious parties having been chosen to adjudicate—and in this court Muhammadans and Christians serve indifferently—and having been sworn on the stone with befitting formalities and solemnity, proceed to examine and give their judgment. In Upper Albania, it is of common occurrence for two peasants to affirm the truth of their allegation *per ket pesh*, "by this weight," taking in their hand the first stone they find, or pointing to it; and in Lower Albania, *per te ranch de kelé gur*, "by the weight of this stone"; they also affirm *per kielk e per dhe*, "by earth and heaven," *per ket ziarm e per ket uë*, "by fire and water," *per mal e per foush*, "by mountain and plain," *per ket dielh e per ket han*, "by sun and moon." That is, they swear by the heaven, earth, and elements, as impersonifications of the Divine Essence.

Classical story furnishes a like example. J. J. Ampère, in his Roman History at Rome, recounts, with other details, that Sylla, on quitting Rome to march against Mithridates, demanded a solemn oath of Cenna not to make any change at Rome during his absence. Sylla insisted that this oath should not be taken on any of the Roman divinities, but on the sacred stone according to the Etruscan rite, who inherited it from their Pelasgian ancestors. Cenna took the oath, placing the stone on his shoulder, and casting it behind him with imprecations, delivered aloud against himself, should he violate his engagement. Here the connection between the Etruscans, Pelasgians, and Albanians becomes apparent.

The coronation stone brought from Scotland to England, and called the "Scone stane," now inserted in the coronation chair in which the Sovereign takes the coronation oath, was used for the same purpose by the Gaels. Pyrrha and Deucalion threw stones behind them to re-people the earth. The modern inhabitants of Greece anathematize an unpopular person by throwing a stone against his door, when

passing the house, with a curse; and as they are for the most part of Albanian origin, the custom is explicable by reference to the above custom.

The site of the ancient Dodona has long been an unsolved problem for scholars and geographers, resulting in conjectures unsupported by evidence, to which a key is found in the Shkipetar language.

A Mr. Carapanos, a rich native of Arta, is the last who has approached this subject, under the impression that he has discovered this ancient site. In instituting excavations in the neighbourhood of his native place, he discovered certain tablets, statuettes in terra-cotta, and similar articles he believed to be archaic. Having gained the ear of certain members of the French Academy, he published a volume, with excellent engravings, in royal folio, doubtless in the confident belief that he had hit on the long-lost site of the temple of the Pelasgic Zeus, or Ze, without, however, troubling himself about the difference between Pelasgians and Greeks. Whether he sought it in the right place or not is, however, the question; for the mere discovery of such articles in a district full of like remains would furnish no more proof of identity than in the case of Dr. Schliemann. Some are of opinion that there were many Dodonas, a view which is entitled to serious consideration, or this plurality of Dodonas would not have been referred to by ancient legends and traditions. It is a recognised fact, that when tribes were constrained by circumstances to quit their former abodes, they carried with them, not only their arms, movables, and herds, but also their divinities, and especially their penates, the representatives of their ancestors and household, founding a new town and erecting a temple to their patron deity. This is the explanation of the existence of many towns of the same name; and, as has been before observed, of the large number of Larissas, or Citadels, the building round which the inhabitants were grouped, as was the case with the Acropolis of Athens, this citadel serving as a refuge when attacked by a neighbouring tribe or other invader.

Strabo says Troy was built on a low hill, λόφος οὐκ ὑψιλός.

Now it is a recognised fact, that the Pelasgi, or some tribes of them, were driven by others from the neighbourhood of the sea shore, and, emigrating with their deities towards the hills, found a more secure retreat. Thus the frequent sites represent only the various stages which the Pelasgian Ze made in his various migrations.

In describing this site of the ancient Dodona, the Pelasgian Ze is described as dwelling on the heights of Mount Tomaros, defying the winds and the ice, and thence sending forth his thunders. The object, then, is to discover this Mount Tomaros. One actually exists in the Molopide and Theoprotia, near to the town of Berat; to seek for it in the lowlands of Arta is therefore absurd. Within a few hours of Berat there is a mountain called by the natives, "Tomor," in the plain at the foot of which lie some scattered villages inhabited by Mussulman Albanians. On the summit of this mountain may be seen a number of stunted oaks. The path leading to it is extremely precipitous, and frequented only by goats and chamois. The natives have a superstition, that the summit of this mountain cannot be reached with impunity; that he would be impious who attempted it, and would not return alive; and that some mysterious power resides there which they call I-mir-i-Tomorit, the good genius of Tomor. I-mir, or the Good, is equivalent to the god. Strange noises, probably the effect of atmospheric influences, are from time to time heard on the summit; these in ancient times were held to be the voice of the god. According to the intensity of these sounds, the surrounding peasants draw prognostications of a good or bad harvest, epidemics, wars, and the like; and when at a distance from their native land, affirm Per-i-mir i Tomor, Per Zee-i-Tomorit i-Zeus; and this, notwithstanding the change of religion, has been handed down among the people. This raises a strong presumption that Mount Tomor was the last station of the Pelasgic Ze, in his repeated migrations towards the more inaccessible country, under the pressure of some Pelasgic or other tribes from posi-

tions nearer the sea-shore. His priests, termed Selloi, *alias* Helloi, are described by Homer as lying on the ground with unwashed feet. The preservation of an ancient heathen myth and superstition, among men of a different faith in the same locality, furnishes a strong presumption that the race descends from the Pelasgic tribe referred to in the Homeric poems.

But other so-called classical customs survive. They draw a horoscope from the entrails and certain bones of animals, the flight of birds, the howl of the wolf, dreams, etc. Funeral banquets, purifications by water, and many other superstitious practices remain, which neither the Christian nor the Mussulman faith has been able to eradicate. Lastly, the *Ghiak*, or blood revenge, is a sacred duty to the manes of the deceased; for it is held that the soul of a murdered man will find no repose till appeased by the blood of the murderer, or of some one of his clan. Of this we find many instances in classical history or historic myth. Polyxena was sacrificed to appease the manes of Achilles.

Placat Achilleos mactata Polyxena manes.

Iphigenia was condemned to death to appease the contrary winds. The mythical history of Greece teems with similar cases. Now, as the Greeks did not sacrifice human beings otherwise than punitively, it is fair to infer that these persons were not Greeks but Pelasgians; and as this practice of atoning sacrifice continues in Albania in the form of the *Ghiak*, it seems to follow that the modern Albanians are descendants of the Pelasgi.

It now remains to examine the historic evidence respecting the Pelasgi, which, though contradictory in some details, coincides in its leading features. These are :

That the Greeks existed in Europe before the Pelasgi.

That the two races were perfectly distinct.

That their manners and customs differed essentially.

That their languages were distinct.

That the Pelasgi did not admit strangers into their body.

That the Greeks, on the contrary, did so.

Herodotus relates (ii. 42) :—"The Pelasgians, as I am

informed, at Dodona formerly offered all things indiscriminately to the gods. They distinguished them by no name nor surname, for they were hitherto unacquainted with either; but they called them gods, which by its etymology means 'disposers,' from observing the orderly disposition and distribution of the various parts of the universe. They learned, but not till a late period, the names of the divinities from the Egyptians; and Bacchus was the last that they knew. Upon this subject they consulted the oracle of Dodona, by far the most ancient oracle in Pelasgia, and, at the period spoken of, the only one. They desired to know whether they might with propriety adopt the names they had learned of the barbarians, and were answered that they might; they have accordingly used them ever since in their rites of sacrifice; and from the Pelasgi they were communicated to the Greeks. Those names (of Deities) of which they (the Egyptians) disclaim any knowledge, are all, except Neptune, of Pelasgic origination. They learned from the Pelasgi to construct the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus.

"At that period the Athenians were ranked with the nations of Greece, and had the Pelasgians for their neighbours, from which incident this people also began to be esteemed Greeks. Of the truth of this, whoever may have been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries, which the Samothracians use and learned from the Pelasgi, will necessarily be convinced; for the Pelasgians, before they lived near the Athenians, formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. By them the Athenians were first of all instructed to make the figure of Mercury with an upright priapus. For this the Pelasgians have a sacred tradition, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries, . . . Otanes made himself master of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi. (This was under Darius.) In conjunction with the Athenians, who wished to be free, Cleomenes besieged the tyrants in the Pelasgian citadel (v. 64). \* \* \*



## LIFE AMONG THE DRUSES

IN 1845, 1874, AND 1882.

[The first Part of this Paper, on "Life among the Druses in 1845," appeared in *THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* of October, 1890.]

### PART II.

I AGAIN visited Syria and the Lebanon in 1874, and spent several years there, thus coming again in contact with my old friends, the Druses.

It was on my first trip in that year, from Beyrout to Damascus, in the uncomfortable little French diligence, and during that long and fatiguing ride of thirteen hours, that I met with a gentleman, having all the bearing of a European gentleman, habited in the regulation European dress, most courteous in his manners and exceedingly intelligent in his looks, who entered freely into conversation on the leading topics of the day, with all of which he showed a thorough acquaintance. He spoke both English and French with fluency.

As we passed, on our way, the different parts of the country, I was struck with the pride with which he brought forward all that was laudable in regard to it, and the expression of his face in doing so. He seemed to me too patriotic to be a stranger; and I, with some excuses for taking what seemed an unwarranted liberty, asked his nationality.

"I am a Druse," said he, smiling; and noting the strong look of incredulity which, in spite of all etiquette and good breeding, would paint itself conspicuously on my face, he said, drawing up his figure, and throwing back his head (I believed him then, for I remembered well the old attitude): "Yes, I am a Druse! My name is Sheikh Kásim ebn Hamza" (I have changed the real name). Astonishment chained my tongue, coupled with a fear of giving offence, for I remembered also how very chary a Druse is

of the slightest word that might seem derogatory to his dignity and to his nationality ; but I dare say he saw the question in my eyes.

“ I am engaged by the mercantile firm of B—— S—— in Beyrout, and am now travelling on their business.”

I have not space to put down the long and interesting conversation which followed. From him I gathered that a change had come over his nation, and that the last thirty years have altered them more than had the preceding five centuries. That, whereas they had then retained the habits and manners of their remote ancestors, they now are yearly straying from old paths into the new ways of European civilization.

Personal observation soon showed me the truth of what he had said. The Druses are in some things very different to what they were ; at least, the rising generation, who live in close proximity to Beyrout, the principal seaport town, which is also the centre of education and commerce in Syria, may be said to be more civilized. Their houses, if they are wealthy, are built of stone, in a commodious manner, and separated into rooms. The key of the house-door is no longer, among the younger part of the community, what it was in former days, and still is in places remote from the centre of civilization. At that time every door of palace, house, or cupboard was furnished with a wooden lock, with a number of small iron nails, sometimes four or five, or even more, which dropped into corresponding holes in the sliding bolt as soon as the latter was pushed into the hole or staple of the door-post. The key had small pins, or rather nails, made to correspond with the holes, into which they were introduced to open the lock ; the former nails being thus pushed up, the bolt could be drawn back. The wooden lock of a street door varied from twelve to twenty-four, or even sometimes thirty inches in length, and the keys were correspondingly unwieldy. I have seen a couple of them tied together by a string, and carried, slung over the shoulder. Now, iron locks and keys, though still rather

bulky, and of a somewhat rough workmanship, are to be frequently met with. The little rough "sraj" (olive-oil lamp), a shallow earthenware sort of cup, with a little niche on one side of it to hold the wick, has given place to petroleum lamps. The hideous horn-headdress of women, the "tantoor" has been done away with by Government. The coarse, home-spun, blue stuffs have been replaced by Manchester goods.

Even forty years ago there had been instances, though very rare ones, in which Druses sought Christian instruction, and to be received as members of the Protestant Church. I will mention two widely different ones.

The first was that of a young Sheikh and his sister, who had been left orphans. Their cousin by the father's side immediately seized their property, basing his claim upon the fact that, as nearest male relation by the father's side, he was, legally, affianced husband of the one and guardian and trustee of both.

I, myself, was witness to the cruel thrashing, and pounding, and pommelling the young Sheikh got, because both he and his sister refused to admit that claim. The sister's loud shrieks and cries for help, as she threw herself over her brother's prostrate form, vainly endeavouring to shield it from the ruffianly blows so freely and fiendishly showered upon it, aroused the whole village to the rescue. The two, both brother and sister, were found in a fainting condition, wounded and bleeding, with hair torn out of their heads by handfuls, and bruises all over their bodies. This was in Aitath. They were rescued out of the hand of their "cousin," who declared that he had a legal right to do as he liked with them, refused to allow any interference, and vowed the death of both, if the girl persisted in refusing to be his wife. They were carried away to Beyrout by the missionaries sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, instructed in the Christian religion, and in 1882 were still living as respected members of the Protestant community in that place. The

native pride of race, inherent in their blood, kept them somewhat aloof from the other Protestants, and they never married—at least, they had not done so in 1882. They did not forget that they were Druses, and they did not cease to be proud of it, although they never dared to trust any of their own people. In the same manner, though received cordially into the bosom of the Protestant community, the latter could not cease to remember that they came of a race who sucked in secrecy with their mother's milk, and who were taught to dissemble before they could speak. The expression of their faces was as if they knew and felt that they were thoroughly isolated—distrustful of all around them, and distrusted in return.

The other instance is that of a Skitt family in Ras Beyrout. The Skitts are the lowest kind of Druses, and looked on with contempt by the higher orders of their own people. In this case, the father, mother, and five or six young children were baptized by the American Missionaries, and lived and died as Christians, the children intermarrying with some of the working classes among the Protestants, and becoming thoroughly incorporated with them. In this latter instance there was no pride of birth or religion to contend with; and as the Skitt is considered a pariah among the real Druses, these latter did not trouble themselves about them either one way or the other, that is to say, either as Skitts or as Protestants.

There is one thing difficult to be accounted for, that the Druses have always looked upon English people as being of the same religion as themselves. "We and you are 'akhwán' (brothers), we are one," they repeat with a meaning smile on their lips and a peculiar look in their eyes, as if to say, "For some reason that you know of, you choose to deny the fact and disguise yourselves; but we understand each other, and in some future time, we shall stand up side by side before the whole world." Whether, now that education, civilization, and steam communication have opened the true character of England and the English

nation to them, they still obstinately cling to their old ideas, is what I cannot answer. To establish a good reputation for themselves, and for their religion, is their first object; and as they think the "Ingleez" (English) are A 1 among the nations, therefore they can lose nothing and may gain much by professing warm friendship to English people, and *equally professing* to regard with favour such of their own people as ally themselves to the "Ingleez," for that is the name by which Protestants are known in Syria and the Lebanon; Protestant and English are synonymous terms with them. To know that one of their people has turned Protestant, or "Ingleez," can give them no annoyance, as they attribute it to his efficiency in the great system of duplicity which is taught in their books, and which governs all their intercourse with others. To carry on skilfully a system of deception and hypocrisy towards others, which is called "El-Záhir" (outward appearance), is considered meritorious by them.

I would not be understood to say that I wish to limit the Divine Power, and am unwilling to believe that a Druse may become a true Christian at heart! There is no doubt that many of that nation will yet sit down at the feet of Jesus, in all truth and sincerity, being thoroughly purged from that evil spirit of dissimulation so carefully instilled into them by their own religion. This dissimulation cannot be other than a second nature to one brought up at the feet of the U'kkáls.

My present object is to depict them as *I know them*, and as they are taught by their own religion to be, however unpleasant may be the task.

I must pass on, but will not enter into the barbarous massacres of 1860, nor into the cold-blooded treachery which brought about the fearful tragedies enacted at Deir-el-Kamar, Hasbeiya, and Damascus. These are matters of history, of which any one acquainted with the East must be fully aware, and I dare not in any way enter upon the harrowing description.

Suffice it to say, the Druse character, strengthened by its religious tenets, and guided by its religious teachers and superiors, came out then in its true colours, and, aided and abetted by the Government, they were able to achieve atrocities to their heart's content.

The cry of blood rose up to heaven! *He* saw, who sees all. "Vengeance is mine; *I* will repay, saith the Lord!" And He did so.

England, Germany, and France stepped to the rescue. Measures were taken to prevent this frequent "running amuck" of the Druse passions. That favourite chorus to their war songs,—"*Ya-ma-ahla! Ya-ma-ahla! damm-en-Nussara!*" (Oh, how sweet! Oh, how sweet! is the blood of Christians!) I have heard it, and can bear witness to the curdling terror it inspires,—received its death-blow.

Chains have been thrown around them, under which they have writhed, but in vain; and whether they would or not, they have been made amenable in a certain fashion to law and order.

Christian philanthropists from the above-mentioned countries have come upon the scene, and opened places of refuge for the houseless, and homeless, and orphaned, who roamed the streets of the seaport towns by thousands; for the deflowered maidens still in the tender years of childhood; for the young wives made widows while still in early girlhood; for the helpless babes, born to know no father's name! Time may heal, but can it ever efface the consequences of such cruelties? . . . Well; to proceed. All was done that could be done. Hospitals, educational establishments, orphanages, and schools sprung up on every side; and the lawless Druse found that it was for his own benefit to clip his wings ere they should be clipped for ever by others, and to bring himself within the bounds of civilization and education. He has professedly, outwardly "*el-záhir*" put his neck under the yoke, as a civilized creature, sends his children to Christian schools;

"Miltiades had obtained possession of Lemnos, the Pelasgians having been expelled from Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or otherwise I am not able to determine. Hecataëus, son of Hegesander, in his history says unjustly.\* The Athenians, according to him, observing their territory near Hymettus, which they had given up to the Pelasgi as a reward for building them a wall, well cultivated, whereas formerly it produced little and was of no estimation, they expelled them from it without any other motive than envy and a desire of obtaining the place. The Athenian account says that the Pelasgi were justly expelled. This people, they assert, made hostile incursions from Hymettus, and frequently offered violence to the young women who went from Athens to the nine fountains for the purpose of drawing water; for at this period the Greeks had no slaves. Not satisfied with treating these with great insolence and brutality, the Pelasgi formed the bolder design of rendering themselves masters of Athens. The Athenians think their conduct on this occasion entitled to the highest praise; for having detected the Pelasgi in treachery, they might justly have exterminated them, instead of which they only expelled them the country. Thus circumstanced, they dispersed themselves, and some of them settled at Lemnos. Such are the different accounts of Hecataëus and the Athenians. The Pelasgi who settled at Lemnos were very desirous to avenge themselves on the Athenians. Knowing therefore the times of public festivals, they prepared two fifty-oared vessels to surprise the Athenian females, who were engaged near Brauron in celebrating the feast of Diana. Many of these fell into their hands, and being carried to Lemnos, became their concubines. These women had a number of children, whom they educated in the Athenian language and manners. These accordingly refused to associate with the other children of the Pelasgi; and if one of them was at any time beaten by them, they mutually ran to each other's assistance. They thought themselves worthy

\* As to Dodona, see Her. ii. 60.

of becoming masters, and ultimately became so. The Pelasgians, observing this, were much exasperated, for they said, 'If these children unite against the offspring of our legitimate wives, and are continually aiming at superiority over them, what will they do when they arrive at manhood?' They resolved therefore to put these children to death, after which they also determined to kill their mothers. This action, added to the former one, in which the women of Lemnos destroyed all their husbands with Thoas their king, induced the Greeks to call every atrocious crime Lemnian.

"The Pelasgians, after the above murder of their children and concubines, found their earth, and cattle, and wives, alike cursed with sterility, to obtain relief from which, they sent a deputation to Delphi. The Pythean commanded them to render such satisfaction to the Athenians as they should require. Accordingly, they went to Athens, engaging themselves to submit to whatever was proposed. The Athenians set in order some couches in the Prytaneum, which they adorned with the greatest magnificence; they prepared also a table, covered with every delicacy; they then required them to surrender Lemnos in a similar state of abundance. 'When,' answered they, 'one of your vessels shall in a single day make its passage to our country with a northern wind, we will comply with what you require.' This they conceived to be impracticable, as Attica lies considerably to the south of Lemnos. After some years, when the Kersonese on the Hellespont came under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Kenion, under favour of the Etesian winds, passed in a single day from Elæos in the Kersonese to Lemnos. He instantly ordered them to depart from Lemnos, reminding them of the declaration of the oracle, the fulfilment of which they little expected. With this the Hephæstians complied; but the Myrenoi, not allowing the Kersonese to be Attica, sustained a siege and were compelled to surrender. Thus through Miltiades the Athenians became masters of Lemnos."



is gradually, but very slowly, adopting civilized dress and civilized manners; professes to believe less in his own khalwât, and his own u'kkál, and can no longer boast of his hidden religion, and his secret religious books.

He has effectually succeeded, for nearly nine hundred years, in deceiving men as to what he really believed, assuming outwardly the Mohammedan religion in order to have the lawful authorities on his side and full protection for his bloodthirsty propensities. Had the general body of the Mohammedans known that their highly venerated prophet was regarded by this people as an incarnation of the evil one, who had first transmigrated through the bodies of Noah, Moses, and Jesus, all three of whom they highly revere as the apostles of God, they would, most assuredly, in the time of their bygone power, have exterminated the Druses from off the face of the earth; and they would, even now, if they knew all, bear an eternal hatred against them. But this has only been discovered through the fortunes of war, which have now put an end to the mystery with which they loved to enshroud all that concerned themselves.

In the wars which Ibrahim Pasha, in 1837, and the Maronites in 1842, waged against them, their khalwât were plundered, and many of their books found their way into the great public libraries of Europe. M. Silvestre de Sacy was the first to give to the world at large some true idea of what the Druse religion really consisted. Formerly many, indeed, I may say, most people, both in Syria and elsewhere, believed that they worshipped a calf; but this has been proved to be an error.

Six volumes, containing one hundred and eleven epistles, form their sacred books; each volume taking its name from the title of the first epistle. They were written by Hamza ibn Ahmed, surnamed El-Hdáy; who, in reality, was the author of this religion, and wrote the greater number of these books. In all of them there is an attempt made to imitate the style of the Koran; but the perform-

ance falls far inferior to the rich eloquence, forcible expression, and classical Arabic in which Mohammed composed his book. None are allowed the privilege of possessing or reading them but such as have been inducted into the mysteries of their religion, and who form that class among them known by the name of "u'kkál."

From their books we find that they believe in the existence of one eternal and supreme Being. Also that he appeared ten times in the human form, which they call manifestations, the last of which took place in the person of El-Hákim.

With regard to the Gospel, they believe as their religious catechism says: "that it is true; for it is the sayings of the Lord Christ, who was Salman-el-Pharisy during the life of Mohammed, and who is Hamzeh, the son of Ali,—not the false Christ who was born of Mary, for this latter was the son of Joseph."

Their belief in the transmigration of souls is very strong, that is to say, that the soul leaves one human body at death and enters another of a new-born infant, either in a better or worse condition, according as it (the soul) deserves to be punished or rewarded; and they believe that the soul is sometimes conscious of the different conditions of life through which it has passed, although they do not affirm that such cases are frequent. The following incident is one among many others of the kind which they relate :—

A child, five years old, in Djebel-el-A'ala, complained of the life of poverty which his parents led, and alleged that he had been a rich man of Damascus; that on his death, he was born in another place, but had lived only six months; that he was born again among his present friends, and demanded to be carried to that city. He was taken there by his relatives, and on the way astonished them by his correct knowledge of the names of the different places which they passed. On reaching the city he led the way through the various streets to a house,

which he said had been his own. He knocked, and called the woman of the house by her name; and, on being admitted, told her that he had been her husband, and asked after the welfare of the several children, relatives, and acquaintances whom he had left. The Druses of the place soon met to inquire into the truth of the matter. The child gave them a full account of his past life among them, of the names of his acquaintances, the property which he had possessed, and the debts which he had left. All was found to be strictly true, except a small sum, which he said a certain weaver owed him. The man was called, and on the claim being mentioned to him, he acknowledged it, pleading his poverty for not having paid it to the children of the deceased. The child then asked the woman, who had been his wife, whether she had found a sum of money which he had hidden in the cellar, and on her replying in the negative, he went directly to the place, dug up the treasure, and counted it before them. The money was found to be exactly of the amount and kind of species which he had specified. His wife and children, who had become considerably older than himself, then gave him some money, and he returned with his new friends to his mountain home.

Nothing is more sacred with a Druse, than his *public* reputation. He will overlook an insult if known *only* to him who has offered it; and will put up with blows, where his interest is concerned, provided *no one* is a witness; but the slightest abuse, real or fancied, given in public he revenges with the greatest fury. This is the most remarkable feature of the national character. In public, a Druse may appear honourable; but he is easily tempted to a contrary behaviour, when he has reason to think that his conduct will remain undiscovered. The ties of blood and friendship have no power among them; and the son no sooner attains the years of maturity than he begins to plot against his father.

The best feature in the Druse character is that peculiar

law of hospitality which forbids ever to betray a guest during the time that he *remains* a guest. It is said that no consideration of interest or dread of power will induce a Druse to give up a person who has once placed himself under his protection, that is to say, while he *remains under* his protection; but the cruel events of 1860 proved that cold-blooded treachery is deeply rooted in their hearts, notwithstanding the outward assumption of honour, generosity, and noble hospitality which they love to make a show of, but can easily evade under some pretence when it suits their private interest.

It is a curious thing that China is believed by the Druses to be inhabited wholly by persons professing the same religion as themselves; and they suppose that on the death of their best men, their souls reappear in that country. They believe also that large numbers of believers are disguised by professing false religions in all the kingdoms of the world. At one time they supposed that, from the friendly attitude which the officials of the British Government held to them, the whole British nation were Druses; and if they have now given up this hope, they still retain the idea that a considerable body of believers exists among them.

It would be most interesting to dive a little into the peculiarities of their religion, for although De Sacy and many others have almost made them common property, still there may be some among the readers of this paper who cannot easily lay their hands on the works of these writers, and would be glad of a few particulars.

When a Druse desires to be initiated into his religion, he is required to bind himself solemnly by the following covenant :—

“I, —, the son of —, in sound reason, and with my full consent and preference, do now absolve myself from all sects and religions which contradict the religion of our Lord El Hákim of infinite power; and do acknowledge that there is no adored God in heaven, or existing Lord on earth, except our Lord El Hakim. (May his name be

praised!) I do give up myself, soul and body unto him, and undertake to submit to all his orders, and to know nothing but the obedience of our Lord, who appeared in Egypt, in the human form. I shall render the homage due to him to none else, whether past, present, or expected. I submit to whatever he sees fit to decree respecting me. I shall keep the secrets of my religion, and speak of them to none but Unitarians. If I ever forsake the religion of our Lord, or disobey any of his commands, may I be absolved from the adored Creator, and cut off from the privileges of the ministers, and I shall justly deserve immediate punishment.”

The right of induction is performed by the “u’kkál,” by simply putting the books of wisdom into the hands of the candidate.

The “u’kkál” are divided into two classes, the simply initiated, and those who have entirely devoted themselves to the interests and duties of religion, and who aspire to a higher degree of sanctity. The latter are distinguished by the additional title of Twayia, though this distinction is not always observed. The simply initiated are required to avoid in their dress all gaudy colours and new-fangled fashions, and in conversation to abstain from swearing and obscene language. Their deportment should always be grave and dignified; and they are in no wise to drink spirituous liquors or even to smoke. They are forbidden to eat or drink in the houses of governors, or in any other place where they have reason to suppose that the articles of food are bought with money extorted, or otherwise unrighteously got.

The Twayia pretend, or, shall we rather say, aspire, to a much higher degree of outward sanctity. Their dress is peculiar, and is made of the simplest materials and in the simplest and most primitive fashion. The turban and coat, however, are their particular badge; the former being made of a narrow slip of white cloth wound round the skull-cap of red cloth in a peculiar spherical manner; and the coat is

made of home-spun wool, streaked with broad stripes of white and black.

The most distinguished among them assume an air of profound humility ; and as they accustom themselves, with this object in view, to a downcast attitude of the head, this forced position eventually becomes natural to them. In conversation they never use a bad word or oath, or even a word which the most fastidious taste does not pronounce to be perfectly proper. They are very scrupulous in using choice expressions which shall convey neither more or less than the truth. No extravagant or even hyperbolical language ever escapes from their lips without due qualification. Suppose one of this class desired to say that he had eaten the best part of a loaf of bread, when he had actually eaten only half or three-quarters, he would express himself in this way, "I have eaten a whole loaf—a part of it." In this way, hyperbole and other figures of speech being particularly common in the Oriental style, they find themselves under the necessity of retrenching or qualifying very much of what they say. This gives a hesitation to their speech, and sanctimonious air to their demeanor, which are very annoying, and sometimes even disgusting. They never engage in trade as such, for a means of livelihood, but always have more or less of landed property which they cultivate, and from which they derive their living. The money which they get in exchange for their goods, when they have reason to believe that it was obtained in some improper way, they always exchange with some Christian or Jew.

In none of their books on religion is any act of mercy, or charity, or neighbourly kindness recognised or commanded, or even hinted at, as acceptable before God, except in so far as it may serve in forwarding the one sole object and end of their existence, namely to establish a good reputation for themselves and their religion.

Their meetings in their khalwât are not spent exclusively in strictly religious exercises ; or rather, I should say, the

Druse regards politics as, perhaps, the most important and interesting part of his religious services. Accordingly in these assemblies, after certain portions of their sacred books are read, and a sort of prayer or adoration to the supreme Creator is chanted, which forms the usual course of their religious worship, the women, and those who have only received the first degrees of initiation, retire, and leave the place to the elder and higher grade of U'kkáls ; after which the true object of their assembling is entered upon, and this is strictly political. Every item of information in reference to politics gained by any member, in any way whatever, is laid before the whole. Everything is carefully discussed, and fully sifted and talked over, every step to be taken is thoroughly studied. Every plan is thoughtfully worked out, before it is committed to the charge of intelligent, competent, and reticent messengers, who spread it through the length and breadth of the Druse possessions with the most perfect secrecy. In order to provide among them for a universal union of sentiment and joint action at all times, two or three distinguished places, which have constant communication with each other, take the lead by general consent. Ba'aklin in the Lebanon, near Deir el Kámar, and El Bagada in the Hermon, near Hasbeiya, are the two places which hold the first rank of eminence among others of their kind. From these, information and orders proceed to provincial khalwât ; and from them the news is ramified to the local meetings of every village, without any outsider being aware of the least movement.

This order of proceeding is so well kept up, that in time of war there is a general secret understanding pervading the whole community, from which a series of acts ensue that are sanctioned by the highest dignitaries of the Druses, and which form an integral part of the general policy adopted by them. It is said, and no doubt it is quite true, that their success in war is to be attributed in a great measure to this perfect unity of action and reticence of speech.

Like every secret association, they have a general sign by which they recognise each other; but as that which they have hitherto adopted is now well known, they have probably changed it for some other.

As it is a maxim with them to adopt the religious practices of the country in which they reside, and to profess the creed of the strongest, there is no doubt that many, if not all, who have much to do with English people, or reside for any lengthened space of time in England, will adopt and profess to believe the Protestant religion, as being the established religion of the English nation, just as in Mohammedan countries they profess Islamism; and whenever they mix with Mohammedans, they are careful to perform the rites prescribed by their religion.

I left Syria for the last time in 1882, but, by means of correspondence, have continually kept myself informed of the state of affairs among the Druses as well as among the other nationalities, both native and foreign, residing in that place. The tide of civilization is slowly, *very* slowly yet surely, percolating through the masses, until the mud hut of the Druse has felt the benefit of it, and the habiliments of his daughters, if not of his wife, have become more refined and attractive, if not so picturesque as before. To those who knew the Druse forty years ago the change is very great; but it is more perceptible among those who live in close proximity to Beyrout. Within the last six weeks I have had information of two incidents which, to my mind, clearly prove that the Druses are getting more "Europeanized," if I may use that expression, than they were even in 1882, and which show that civilization is outwardly progressing among them—that, at least, the outward man is becoming apparently more amenable to the humanizing influences around him.

The first incident is this—that *three Druse princesses* have, on the application of their own friends and relations, become pupils in the British Syrian Boarding School at Beyrout!



For many years education has slowly been creeping in upon them. The Druse is shrewd and intelligent, and he has found that the knowledge obtained solely from his own Khalwât and his own U'kkál is no longer sufficient for him. Unwilling to be left stranded by himself among the shoals of ignorance, and thus lose prestige for himself and his religion as a Druse, he very wisely and, dare I add, cunningly, puts his prejudices in his pocket, and sends his children to Christian schools. This course of action has crept in upon him step by step, as if he were impelled to it by a pressure of circumstances too great to be battled with. First, only the sons of the common people were allowed to attend "English" schools. Then the persuasions of "English" ladies prevailed, and, as a great favour, first one, then another, and then a third daughter of the Druse people was classed among the pupils! Another year or two rolled on, and the young sheikhs, ashamed of seeing the children of their dependents getting in advance of them in culture, put their pride in their pocket (anything put in the pocket can be brought out when necessary for use), and in the same insulated manner sought the benefits of English education! Now the climax is reached—the Druse sheikhs themselves send their daughters, or rather have begun to do so, to mingle freely—to sit, and eat, and sleep, to study and play—with the daughters, not only of commoners, but of those very people whose blood they caused to flow like water, and boasted of its sweetness! Can the leopard change his spots, or the bloodthirsty tiger his insatiable love of human flesh? I know not! I care not to decide this point, and I will not sit in judgment upon it. Time will show! And certainly I *do* believe that God's grace is *all* powerful. There we will leave it, and pass to the second incident.

An English gentleman, wishing to be an eye-witness of the home life among the Druses in the privacy of their own villages, following Lane's example among the Egyptians, went to the Lebanon, and took up his abode among the

Druses. He was a Freemason, and it occurred to him one day, when surrounded only by U'kkál, to put them to the test, and see whether it were possible that there could be any connection between the secret society of the Druses and that of the Freemasons. He did not dream that such a thing could be possible, but merely followed what appeared to him an idle whim of the moment. To his intense surprise, however, scarcely had he made the usual sign than the assembled U'kkál, looking at each other with great astonishment in their faces, rose up in one mass, and gave him the right hand of fellowship! They immediately accepted him as a true brother in their fraternity, and insisted upon treating him thenceforward as entirely one of themselves. I do not consider this last incident as wholly the result of increased civilization, but fancy that a good deal of policy was mixed up with it. Still, it is interesting; though is it not just possible that henceforward they will cling more strongly to their cherished idea that many, if not most, of the English are Druses at heart, and believe that Freemasonry is only another name for the tenets of El-Hakim-bi-Amrihg?

## ORIENTAL CONGRESS NEWS.

THE following statement has been issued by the President and Vice-Presidents of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, to Members, Orientalists, and friends of Oriental Studies:—

*Office :* ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE,  
WOKING, *November 14th, 1891.*

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor of informing you that the publications of the above Congress will extend to several volumes, containing a mass of valuable papers connected with almost every Oriental speciality or with its practical application. In order to enable us to publish them, it is necessary that all Members should pay at least their subscription of £1 or 25 francs, together with such additional amount as they may be pleased to give in furtherance of the aims of the Congress generally and to assist it in its publications. In addition to the status of Membership and the privileges connected therewith, the subscription will entitle you to:—1. A complete report of the proceedings, containing abstracts of all the papers read at the Congress, as also papers *in extenso* by the Rev. Professors Wright, Stanley Leathes, Adams; Prof. Sir Monier Williams, the Rev. Dr. C. Taylor, General Showers, Sir R. Meade, Drs. Bellew, Leitner, and Schlichter, the Rev. J. Edkins, and Messrs. Flinders Petrie, Claine, R. Michell, R. A. Sterndale, and C. E. Biddulph. The proceedings amount to 123 pages and the rest to additional 228 pages in the "Special Oriental Congress Number" of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review." 2. A complete List of Members [signatory and ordinary], the Statutes, etc. 3. Proceedings and miscellaneous papers between 10th October, 1889, and 10th September, 1891 (most, if not all, of which have already been sent to you). 4. A work on the "Ethnology of Afghanistan," specially written for the Congress by Surgeon-General H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., late Chief Political Officer at Kabul (210 pages). 5. Introduction to the same (27 pages). 6. The Rev. H. Gollancz's Paper on the "Dignity of Labour in the Talmud." 7. Dr. Leitner's pamphlets on "Muhammadanism," and on the "Science of Languages and Ethnography," with special reference to Hunza, a country of the Pamirs. 8. Summary of Research in Sanscrit studies and Bibliography (56 pages) by Professor G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu. 9. Report of the progress made in the Study of African Languages since 1883, by Capt. C. de Guiraudon. 10. Notes on the modern Nyaya system of Philosophy by Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna. For Members of the Aryan Section only: *Principios Elementares da Grammatica da Lingua Sãoskrita. Manual para o Estudo de Sãoskrito Classico. (I.) Exercicios e primeiras Leituras do Samscrito: (II.)* by Prof. G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu. For Members of the Arabic Section only: *Treatise on the legal rights of Muhammadan Women* by Sheikh Hamza Fathullah. Members who have paid their subscription will further be entitled to receive at cost price (others paying double) the Summaries of Research up to date in Hebrew and Aramaic, Arabic and Aethiopic, Assyriology, Egyptology, including

Coptic, Sinology, Palestinology, Indo-Chinese, Malayan, Turkish, Dravidian, Comparative Philology, Oriental Archæology, Indian Numismatics, as also all other publications that may be issued by the Oriental University Institute, to which these and the remaining papers have been made over as the custodian of the archives, dies, and plates of the Statutory International Congresses of Orientalists, and a seat of an annual Oriental British Congress, of an Oriental Academy, and of annual Oriental Examinations. Orientalists or friends of Oriental Studies will be allowed to become Members of the Statutory Ninth International Congress, and to receive the publications thereof, by notifying their wish at any time between the date of this circular letter, and the date of the Statutory Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, which will take place at Seville in Spain in September—October, 1892. The names of intending Members for the Congress in Spain, as also those of mere subscribers to any one or more of the above-mentioned publications already issued, or to be issued, will be registered by Dr. Leitner, Woking. "The Asiatic Quarterly Review," the authorized organ of the Statutory Congresses of Orientalists, will publish, as far as possible *in extenso*, all the papers read before, or sent to, or announced as being sent to the Congress, but not yet received, that may be accepted, besides publishing its usual matter on current subjects of Oriental Literature, Laws, Languages, Politics, Religions, Social Condition, Geography, Science, etc. (subscriptions per annum, £1). Members who have paid their subscription will also receive a Grand Diploma of Statutory Membership in the event of their being desirous of maintaining the original Statutes of the Congress of the existing Series as founded in Paris in 1873, which will give them the right of voting at all the future Statutory Congresses of the Series, of which they may desire to become Members. The Executive Committee and the Delegate General being, by a Resolution of the Congress, in function as a "Comité de Permanence," till the next meeting of the Statutory Congress, or, till the publications of the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists are issued, or whenever the interests of the continuation or the cause require it (see Resolution of Paris, dated 11th September, 1873), are empowered to confer, in accordance with certain publicly approved and fixed principles of Award, Diplomas, Certificates, or Medals in the name of the Congress, for any Papers, Collections, etc., that have been announced, but have not yet been received.

The following subscriptions have already been received towards the Reception, Publication, and other expenses of the Congress, which amount to £1,800—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
The Clothworkers' Company ...	50	0	0	Sir Richard Meade ...	6	5	0
Mr. Ludwig Mond ...	50	0	0	Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael ...	3	0	0
Dr. W. H. Bellew ...	50	0	0	Sir Charles Nicholson ...	2	2	0
His Excellency The Japanese Ambassador ...	10	10	0	General Forlong ...	2	1	0
H. H. The Maharaja of Travancore ...	10	0	0	Mr. Arthur Cates ...	5	5	0
Sir Lepel Griffin ...	10	0	0	Dr. G. W. Leitner ...	200	0	0
Baron G. de Reuter ...	9	9	0	The Oriental University Institute ...	100	0	0
Chief Justice Way ...	6	5	0	Rev. C. Taylor, D.D., Master of St. John's, Cambridge...	20	0	0
				Mr. Marcus Adler ...	3	3	0

£300 have been already received by Members' subscriptions of £1 each; £300 more are expected under that head; so that the sum required to be specially subscribed for, is about £700.

The following circular has been issued in connection with the forthcoming Statutory Tenth International Congress of Orientalists to be held at the Alcazar at Seville, from the 23rd September to the 1st October, 1892, and and to be followed by the Congress of Americanists, of Geographers, the celebration of Festivities in connection with the Fourth Centenary of Christopher Columbus.

### XME CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES ORIENTALISTES

(sur la base de Statuts et des principes primitifs du Congrès  
fondateur de Paris, 1873).

SEVILLE, Septembre-Octobre, 1892.

WOKING, *Décembre*, 1892.

MONSIEUR ET HONORÉ COLLÈGUE, —

Nous avons l'honneur de vous informer que le 10me Congrès International des Orientalistes se réunira à Séville entre le 23 Septembre et le 1 Octobre, 1892, sous la présidence de Son Excellence Don Antonia Canovas del Castillo, Président du Conseil des Ministres et Directeur de l'Académie Royale de l'Histoire de Madrid et sous le patronage de S.A.T.R. l'Archiduc Rénier d'Autriche.

Les neuf Congrès précédents se sont réunis à Paris (1873), Londres (1874), St. Petersburg (1876), Florence (1878), Berlin (1881), Leyde (1884), Vienne (1886), Stockholm-Christiania (1889), Londres (1891).

La ville de Séville ayant été choisie par le Congrès de Londres comme siège de la dixième Session, le Comité de Londres a transmis régulièrement ses pouvoirs au Comité espagnol organisateur de cette Session.

Ce Comité est sous la présidence de S. E. Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo et la vice-présidence de S. E. Don Antonio Maria Fabié. Le Secrétaire organisateur est Dr. Ayuso, Professeur de Sanscrit à l'Université de Madrid. On pourra s'adresser à lui ou aux soussignés pour tous renseignements, l'envoi des mémoires, des cotisations de Membre, ouvrages, etc.

Le prix de la cotisation est de 16 shillings, 20 pesetas, ou de 20 francs. On peut souscrire en France au Comité du Centenaire à l'Ambassade d'Espagne, 36, Boulevard de Courcelles, ou à la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, 44, Rue de Rennes; chez M. E. Leroux, Editeur, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris; en Angleterre chez MM. Hachette, Libraires, King William Street, Strand, Londres, et en autres pays chez MM. les Délégués du Xme Congrès des Orientalistes. Les Membres dûment inscrits recevront le Grand Diplôme Statutaire.

Le Programme scientifique embrassera les Sections suivantes :

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|--|---|
| a. Sommaire des recherches orientales depuis 1891.   | l. Études Japonaises.   |
| b. 1. Langues sémitiques excepté l'Arabe.  | m. Études Dravidiennes.   |
| 2. l'Arabe et l'Islam.   | n. Malaisie et Polynésie.   |
| 3. Assyriologie.   | o. Questionnaires pour explorateurs.  |
| 4. Palestinologie.   | p. Philologie ethnographique, y compris les migrations des races.   |
| c. Langues aryennes. 1. Le Sanscrit et l'Hindouisme.   | q. l'Art, l'Archéologie, la Numismatique, et l'art industriel de l'Orient.  |
| 2. le Pali et le Bouddhisme.   | r. Relations avec les savants et les peuples de l'Orient.   |
| 3. l'Iranien et le Zoroastrianisme.  | s. La Linguistique orientale en commerce etc. (avec soussections pour les différentes langues modernes orientales). |
| d. l'Afrique, avec l'exception de l'Égypte.  | t. L'Anthropologie, la Science et les produits, naturels et artificiels; de l'Orient.                               |
| e. Égyptologie.  | u. L'Orient et l'Amérique.  |
| f. Asie Centrale et Dardistan.   | v. L'Orient et la Péninsule ibérienne.  |
| g. Religions comparées (y compris Mythologie, Philosophie, Lois, Sciences orientales, Histoire, etc. | w. Exposition de livres et d'objets à l'appui des Sections susmentionnées.  |
| h. Langues comparées.  |   |
| i. Encouragement des études orientales.  |   |
| j. Études Indo-Chinoises.  |   |
| k. Sinologie.  |   |

Le programme détaillé sera rédigé par la R. Academia de la Historia de Madrid, la R. Academia de Bellas Letras de Séville, la R. Academia de Bellas Artes, l'Université et l'Athénée de cette ville.

La Couronne et l'Ayuntamiento préparent des fêtes à l'Alcazar, aux Casas Capitulares, à la Casa Lonya, à la Casa de Pilatos, aux casinos (cercles), au théâtre de S. Fernando et à la Plaza de Toros, des visites à la Biblioteca Colombina, à l'Archivo de Indias, aux musées, aux principaux monuments, à la Manufacture des tabacs, aux manufactures de Triana, des promenades aux Delicias, des excursions sur le Guadalquivir, etc., etc.

La Session sera suivie d'excursions à Cordoue, Malaga, Grenade, Cadix, Xérés, et Huelva, afin de permettre aux Membres du Congrès de visiter les plus beaux monuments arabes de l'Andalousie et ses principaux villes.

Le programme sera mis prochainement en distribution.

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS,

Délégué du Gouvernement de l'Espagne.

G. W. LEITNER,

Délégué, Secrétaire Général du 9me Congrès International des Orientalistes.

MARQUIS DE CROIZIER,

(Comité de Permanence.)

Délégué Général en France.

WOKING, SURREY.

*Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America.*

The following is the preliminary official programme in connexion with the above celebration :—

“The Spanish Government, being desirous of celebrating with splendour the fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America, are arranging for that purpose a variety of festivities and gatherings, of which some, by their international character, are of special interest. Among them may be noted :

“The Exhibitions which will open in Madrid the 12th September, 1892, and remain open until the 31st December following.

"The Congress of Americanists, which will be held in Huelva from the 1st to the 6th October of the same year.

"The International Congress of Orientalists (tenth session), which will be held between the 29th September\* and the 12th October, 1892, at Seville.

"And the Geographical Hispano-Portuguese-American Congress, which will take place in Madrid in the month of October.

"One of the Exhibitions, called the Historical American Exhibition of Madrid, has for its object to represent in the most complete manner the state in which were the different countries of the New Continent before the arrival of the Europeans and at the time of the Conquest till the 18th century. It will contain objects, models, reproductions, plans, draughts, etc., having reference to the people who then inhabited America—their customs and their civilization—which have a bearing on the early navigators, the first colonists, and the Conquest itself.

"The other Exhibition, called the Historical European Exhibition of Madrid, will also be retrospective; it will embrace the objects of art belonging to the period comprised between the beginning of the 15th century and the end of the 17th century, giving an idea of the degree of civilization which the colonizing nations had attained at the time of the Conquest. Architectural works will not be contained among the objects of art admitted to the Exhibition.

"A place will be specially set apart for receiving the liturgical objects of art in use in Catholic worship.

"The third Exhibition will be an International Industrial Exhibition.

"The fourth Exhibition will be an International Exhibition of the Fine Arts."

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#### *Schemes of Transliteration.*

The Committee appointed by the General Meeting of the 9th September, 1891, to consider and report on the various Schemes of Transliteration submitted to the Congress have selected those of Prof. Sir Monier Williams and the Rev. Professor Stanley Leathes, D.D., as deserving of consideration, and have arrived at the following final resolution:—

"The Committee is disposed to concur with Prof. Sir Monier Williams in his recommendation of the improved Jonesian system for the scientific transliteration of Indian Languages, so far as the English-speaking races are concerned, not in order to supersede the use of the native characters by natives, or their study by European scholars, but as a mere convenience when printing them in Roman type. The Committee further disapproves of the system adopted in the "Sacred Books of the East," of rendering "j" with "G," or "ch" with "K," e.g., "Jain" as "Gain," or "charas" as "Karas," as being likely to lead to mispronunciation by the reader, and to mistakes by the printer. In the Committee's opinion, any scheme of transliteration must be of limited application. In popular, as opposed to the scientific, transliteration of Oriental sounds, or in ordinary English

\* NOTE.—The exact date of this Congress will be so arranged as to fit in with the other Congresses and Festivities.

publications, such common English spelling as is least liable to different modes of pronunciation appears to be most suitable for the ordinary English reader. As regards the scheme of Professor S. Leathes for Hebrew consonants, the Committee regard it as worthy of attention, but, as regards vowels, the Committee would prefer the quantity to be indicated by the ordinary signs rather than by italicized vowels. The Committee, in conclusion, feel it their duty to reiterate and endorse the warning regarding all attempts at any *universal* system of Transliteration that has been expressed at the Sectional and General Meetings, as also in the programme of the Congress, which are attached to this Resolution."

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The letter of the Congress to the Scotch University Commissioners regarding the undesirability of omitting Oriental Languages and Philology from the Honours' Course in Arts has been reprinted and circulated by them among the Commissioners for opinion. We hope to be able to announce a favourable result in our next issue.

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The suggestions and Resolution of the General Meeting held on the 7th September regarding the Oriental Institute in Naples and the combination of Eastern with Western instruction in such Institutions (see page lxi. of Proceedings in last *Asiatic Quarterly*) have been submitted to the Italian Government and to the London and Edinburgh Chambers of Commerce.

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In acknowledging the services of M. Aymonier as Delegate of the French Government, the opportunity was taken of emphasizing his objection to laicizing or secularizing the education of Orientals in Colonies under European administration.

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The Japan Society, founded by the exertions of the Secretaries of the Japanese Section of the Oriental Congress, held its first meeting of the Organizing Council at the rooms of the Society of Arts on Tuesday evening, the 8th. December, 1891. Its prospects of success are exceedingly good. We intend to publish particulars of its operations in our next issue.

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The remaining Resolutions of the last Congress are in course of being carried out, with the happiest results.

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His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, whose unfortunate absence from England prevented his showing any hospitality that he might have desired to extend to the Members of the Congress, has sent the following very kind letter to one of the Secretaries: "I am most sorry I could be of no use, and I cannot but fear that it must have given you and others very considerable trouble to hear nothing from me. I am very grieved if it was so. I trust you are fully satisfied with the progress of the Congress."

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H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore has written to express his warm interest in the great work that the Congress has been doing.



## CORRESPONDENCE AND NOTES.

*The Pamirs.*

DR. G. CAPUS, whose Paper to the Congress in the Pamir we print elsewhere, has sent Dr. Leitner the following letter :—

“Je n’ai jamais entendu aux Kara-Kirghizes habitants permanents des Pamirs, attribuer le nom de Pamir à une région du massif bien déterminée. Ils l’employaient toujours dans un sens vague, assez mal défini, dans l’acception du lieu désert, inhospitalier. Ils prononcent *Pamer* ou *Pamel*. Ils ne connaissaient pas par le Pamir dit “Khargoush” ou Pamir des lièvres de la carte de Seivertsoff et disait simplement Rang-Koul, Kara-koul, Alitchour, sans y affixer le terme de Pamer. Ils ne connaissent pas non plus sous les noms de “petit” et de “grand” Pamir les vallées du haut Ak-sou et du Sar-i-Koul. Les dénominations de *Pamir-i-Khourd* et du *Pamir-i-Kalane* viennent des Wakhis qui me semblent avoir emprunté le mot de Pamir des Kirghizes leurs voisins. Cette dualité de langues, à la limite linguistique de tribus de langue éranienne et turque, a donné lieu déjà à d’autres malentendus d’identification géographique comme je l’ai montré dans un article de la *Revue de la Géographie* (p. 321, 1890).

“Le Pamir ou les Pamirs sont loin d’être des endroits absolument déserts, peu accessibles—*en été* et sans valeur—*pour le nomade*. M. et Mme. Littledale ayant fait leur voyage pendant la bonne saison, la saison des mouvements de nomades, auront certainement vu l’Alaï, le Kara-Koul, le Rang-Koul, la vallée de l’Ak-sou, l’Alichour, etc., visités par de nombreux et beaux troupeaux, parsemés de nombreux *oïs* ou tentes Kirghizes.

“Les pâturages des Pamirs jouissent même d’une réputation exceptionnelle, depuis Marco Polo, qui relève leurs qualités par une phrase spéciale en disant, “qu’une maigre jument y deviendrait bien grasse en 10 jours.” Mais la bonne chère des troupeaux ne dure que 3 ou 4 mois au plus, l’hiver étant natif et les neiges permanentes, précoces. Qu’en été les mouvements de grandes masses d’hommes, de caravanes, soient possible, cela est certain. En hiver, les Pamirs ne sont pas complètement déserts ni abandonnés. Certains tribus de Kara-Kirghizes, parmi lesquels les Teitts tiennent le premier rang par le nombre, hivernent dans les replis abrités de certaines vallées et entretiennent même en vie la majeure partie de leurs troupeaux quoiqu’ils ne leur fassent guère au point de provisions. Nous les avons trouvés au Rang-Koul et dans la vallée de l’Ak-sou, en aval et en amont d’Ak-tach. Quoique la politique soit étrangère à mes préoccupations, je me permets cependant d’avoir une opinion sur ce qu’on appelle en ce moment la “question” du Pamir. Peut-être n’en est-elle que plus impartiale. La démarcation des Pamirs, comme vous le dites avec beaucoup de raison, est “practically impossible and certainly unmaintainable.” Il n’y a pas de frontière arbitraire tracée en travers des Pamirs,—frontière qui ne peut être naturelle dans ce cas,—résistant à la force des choses. Les Pamirs sont dans la sphère d’influence de la puissance du Nord, tout comme

les petits états du Nord de l'Inde sont dans celle de la puissance du Sud. Cela résulte de la Topographie de la contrée aussi bien que de l'état social des habitants, des lois, de l'expression de la solidarité ethnique.

"Il n'y a pas de chinoiserie de Kashgar ou de Peking qui puisse à la longue se maintenir en travers de cette loi "naturelle." Je ne comprends même pas comment cette rencontre du Capitaine Younghusband avec le Colonel Ianoff, a pu donner lieu à cet accès de "nervosisme"—pardonnez-moi le mot, mais il est caractéristique—de la presse anglaise. Je suis persuadé que si les deux grandes puissances, en marche l'une vers l'autre en Asie centrale, au lieu d'être séparées par des états d'une puissance en somme anodine, avaient une frontière commune, la paix et la stabilité seraient plus assurées que lorsque ces petits états, intrigant pour ou contre l'une ou l'autre, peuvent à chaque instant susciter des complications retentissantes.

"Je vous demande pardon de cette digression qui m'a été suggérée par la dernière partie de votre intéressante lettre au *Morning Post*, et comme l'opinion que j'exprime est de celles qu'on ne partagera pas, elle me reviendra entière."

It will be seen from the subjoined letter from Mr. LITLEDALE that he has not been so fortunate, as Dr. Capus supposes, in seeing large Kirghiz encampments during his crossing the Pamir from north to south. As for the word "Pamir," Dr. Bellew's comparative vocabulary of Yarkandi, Kirghiz, Wakhi, Serikoli, and Kalmác, confirms Dr. Leitner's interpretation of "plateau."

"We passed long stretches of country, in one instance south of Lake Karrakol, fifteen or twenty miles, where I don't think it is any exaggeration to say there was not a particle of vegetation of any kind. Of course my remarks are confined to the parts we visited, which you might term the backbone of the Pamir system. I have no doubt whatever to the west, where the ground shelves down to the Oxus, and you have a small elevation above the sea, that there the conditions of life are much more favourable. With the exception of an encampment of about a dozen Jourts on the Alichur, the only others we came in contact with were one Jourt fifteen miles east of Victoria Lake on the Great Pamir, and another Jourt on the Little Pamir; nor do I think, from the extreme difficulty we found in getting grass for our ponies, that the country is capable of supporting a much larger population than it has at present. (There was an encampment on the Murghab which we passed, but not within sight of.)"

ST. GEORGE LITLEDALE.

Dr. Leitner replied as follows :—

"I have not the least doubt that you have correctly described what you yourself have seen, but I am equally sure that Grambscheffsky and Capus are right as to what they have themselves investigated. Personally, my knowledge of the Gilgit and adjacent countries gives me a high opinion of their fertility, and the variety and multitude of game. Had you gone to Hunza and Nagyr (I do not see the latter on your excellent map) you would not have complained of the scarcity of sport. See also Biddulph on

the subject. I was much distressed to hear what you had to tell us of the miserable condition of the Wakhis and Yasinis, whose language and legends I have studied, and whose physical beauty I admired."

The map published by the Royal Geographical Society, in connexion with Mr. Littledale's journey, although it does not repeat the error in that of Colonel Grambchkeffsky, of putting Hunza on the Nagyr side of the river, omits the name of Nagyr altogether. We infer from this, that even the information possessed by the Intelligence Department of the War Office, which is supposed to have supplied all it conveniently can to the Society, is still very defective, and we trust to be able to fill up its blank by the native itineraries in our possession.

Mr. Robert Michell's paper on Russian Cartography we have been compelled to postpone to next issue, as also others of great value and usefulness, such as that of Prof. Abel on Philology, and that of Prof. Witton-Davies on the promotion of Oriental studies in England. Pasteur Fesquet has also sent a very interesting letter on his view regarding the affinities between the Shemitic and the Aryan families of language. Professor Lincke's invaluable Summary of Research in Assyriology, and his paper on the colonization of Assyria, will be ready in a few weeks.

*Oriental Academy, Woking.*

The meetings of the Academy, for the reading and discussion of papers, books, and collections connected with Oriental Research, or its application, or for the initiation of original inquiry, will be held every Saturday afternoon, between four and six o'clock, beginning with the first Saturday in May. For particulars regarding membership, apply to Secretary, Oriental Academy, Woking. Arrangements are in progress for the issue of return tickets to Members or visitors for single fares, at the Waterloo Station Main Line ticket offices.

Mr. C. H. E. Carmichael, Congress Medallist, the eminent Foreign Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, has translated for our next issue Professor G. Maspero's admirable paper on "Creation by the Voice and the Ennead of Hermopolis," as also Professor E. Amélineau's "Identifications of Ancient with Modern Egyptian Geography."

Professor E. Cordier has largely added to the excellent Summary of Sinology which he read before the last Oriental Congress. The Summaries of Research, in sixteen Oriental specialities will, we hope, be published by June next, and applications for them are now registered.

The next Entrance, Proficiency, High Proficiency, and Honours Examinations of the Oriental University Institute in the Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, Hindi, Urdu, and Panjabi languages will be held on and from the 1st August, 1892. Examinations will also be held in various branches of Arabic and Sanscrit literature, as also in Hindu and Muhammadan law, and in the Vaidak and Yunani systems of medicine. Intending candidates should register their names before the 31st March, 1892, for the

subject or branch of the subject in which they desire to be examined, giving an account of their Oriental studies, and enclosing a fee of £5, which will be remitted in the case of those Maulvis, Pandits, Christian ministers, and Rabbis as cannot afford to pay it.

We greatly regret being unable in this issue to publish a highly interesting account of Dr. Karl Blind's personal recollections of the great Trojan pathfinder, Dr. Schliemann.

*Our Reasons for Studying the East.* By M. BERNARDINO MARTIN MINGUEZ, *Revue des Revues, Paris*. In speaking of the Congress of Orientalists (to be held in Spain in 1892) the author aims higher than the often arid studies of Oriental scholars. He reminds us that Orientalism has mainly influenced Occidental civilizations, especially the Greek and Roman, and even the first historical manifestations in Gaul and Iberia. In Spain the East has affected its language, produced the sculptures of Sagonta, the monuments of Burgos and Carcena, the remaining wealth of the south-west of Spain, of Estremadura and Galicia, the ancient alphabet and treasures of Cordova, Granada, Seville, Toledo, Saragossa, etc. Spain was, therefore, the country suited above all others to celebrate the next Congress; and its Government is now doing all it can to present to foreign scholars its own best men in the various Oriental specialities, including languages, religions, arts, customs, etc.

M. Sergius Sloutsky, of the Imperial Archæological Society of Moscow, has favoured us with the details regarding the contested two tablets in Dr. Blau's Assyrian collection, the genuineness of which has been so fully established by the last Oriental Congress, and which also present hieroglyphic prototypes of some cuneiform signs. We trust to be able to publish them, as also a *résumé* of the controversy, now settled, in our next issue.

Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna, C.I.E., the eminent Principal of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, has most liberally promised to print and present 500 copies of his "Notes on the Modern Nyāya System of Philosophy" to the Executive Committee of the last Oriental Congress, for distribution among its members.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The Viceroy's autumn tour included Kashmir, Gwalior, Indore, and Bhopal. In each State he had something to say in praise of native rule. Bhopal has again given a good lead in offering to merge all State troops, instead of a part only, in the Imperial Defence Corps, which, we note, is continually receiving fresh contingents. At Srinagar the Viceroy, after careful inquiry, restored to the Maharajah a part of his former power and position in the State, by giving him the Presidency of the State Council. The late President, Dewan Rajah Amar Singh, is made Vice-President, and a K.C.S.I., an honour well merited for his past services. The Viceroy has now returned to Calcutta, and with the Legislative Council is again at ordinary work. The Governors of Bombay and Madras, and the Lieut.-Governors of Bengal, the N.W. Provinces, and the Punjab, have also been on tours, necessitated by the scarcity almost universal this year in India. The changes in the English Cabinet have made the Hon. G. N. Curzon, Under-Secretary for India: he has a practical knowledge of the East. A sum of £1,000 a year has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for the museum of Economic Products of India, attached to the Imperial Institute—Mr. Royle takes charge of it. A meteorological station has also been sanctioned for five years on the island of Miniery in the Arabian Sea, and another in Kashmir.

The Maharajah Holkar, finding 750 districts in arrears with revenue accounts, took vigorous steps to have a speedy settlement, and at an outlay of Rs. 35,000 has recovered Rs. 500,000 from 600 districts. At Hyderabad we note an important memorandum, by Nawab Mehdi Hassan, on the legislation necessary for the press; and the report since 1886 of the bureau for regulating the residence and deportation of the numerous Rohillas, who had thronged in, not

for the good of the country. The Mysore Representative Assembly met in the middle of October, under the Presidency of the Dewan Sheshadri Jyer. For the first time it was a duly elected body from the agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests. The budget was announced as being two lakhs over that of last year, which again had been eleven lakhs greater than that of 1888-89. There is a large surplus, the State is thriving in every respect, and has thus taken practically the lead in partly granting representative institutions to the people.

A serious accident on the Nagpur railway resulted in thirteen killed and thirty-five wounded—nearly all soldiers. A more uncommon accident was the derailing of a mail train near Trichinopoly by Dacoits, who robbed it of Rs. 10,000. Another accident is reported from Multan. The half-yearly reports of railways show a general increase of traffic.

The report on jails gives a total of 748 in India :—37 central, 300 district, and 401 local lock-ups, with 88,000 prisoners. The total numbers passed through the prisons in the last year were 476,316 : 23,353 females, and 452,931 males. Per thousand of the population, the Buddhists and Jains were 3, Christians 1·7, Muhammadans 0·9, Sikhs and Hindoos 0·7, others 0·5. The Christians stand unenviably high. Government officially reports that there is no reliable ground for thinking that lead exists in remunerative quantities in the Chota Nagpur district. Government announce a Commission to inquire into the land indebtedness of India. Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the Punjab, and N.W. Provinces will send members. Sir C. Crossthwaite having declined the presidency, it has been given to Mr. Neil, the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces. A sum of 100 lakhs of rupees has been granted for fresh railways for the coming year. The study of the Russian language by Indian officials is to be encouraged by giving them facilities of leave to go to Russia at their own expense : if they pass, they will be paid £200 and a portion of their expenses.

The ex-Maharajah of Manipur died on the 4th Decem-

ber. He had lately been ordered to remove from Calcutta, and was to have been paid 250 Rs. a month. The Manipur prisoners have reached the Andaman Islands and are putting in their time under the common rules ; their families have been removed to Sylhet. A battalion and a half of Gurkhas with two guns garrison Manipur, where road-making is being extensively undertaken. During the long minority of the child-rajah we shall not have much to chronicle of Manipur. The report of the Military Court of Inquiry has not been yet published, but Captains Boileau and Butcher, first and second in command at Manipur after the death of Colonel Skene, have been dismissed from the service ; compassionate allowances, however, were granted.

Major-General Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B., has been selected as the next Commander-in-chief in India. A large cavalry camp of exercise is assembling at Aligurh, while another for artillery is to be held at Muridki. Nine lakhs have been sanctioned for the Rawul Pindee defence works, and those for Attock are to be at once begun. Here the preparatory surveys were made, no less than twenty years ago. The Samana range too is to be fortified, and a body of 200 military police is being organized in the Hazara district. A determined effort is being made to lay before Parliament, in the coming session, through Mr. King, the grievances of the India Staff Corps. Over 700 petitions had been despatched before pressure was brought to bear, to prevent more from following. The officers complain that they do not get a fair share of the higher offices of the service in India, and that altered circumstances in the services require a revision of the terms—11, 20, and 26 years—now fixed for their promotions. They certainly have very good cause of complaint. A new ordinance for the Indian navy constitutes a grievance not much noticed in England. India has to pay her share towards the general expenses of the navy for the privilege of being defended by a fragment of the fleet. This adds only two gun-boats and one torpedo-boat, while the assessment is between 10 and 15 lakhs of Rs.

Australia, for about the same amount, gets 5 cruisers and 2 gun and torpedo-boats, with other favourable conditions. The injustice to the Indian tax-payer is simply flagrant.

India has had a very bad season. A cyclone swept over the Bay of Bengal early in November, causing much damage and loss of life. The pilot brig *Coleroon* was lost with all hands; the *Enterprise* was wrecked in the Andamans, and out of its crew of 83, only 6 were saved, through the heroic conduct of some 30 convict women. On the island no less than 60 convicts were killed and 200 injured during the gale. The Indian tea season, for want of rain, has closed earlier, and the crop is smaller than was expected, but still is larger than that of last year. The Punjab cotton crop will be a poor one, as also that of rice in Bengal. In fact, the output of the whole country is affected by the want of rain in most places, and the excessive rainfalls in others, as at Jhansi and Cawnpore. Distress has been general, and some places have endured the horrors of actual famine. Grain riots, as might be expected, have occurred, notably in the Punjab, Ajmere-Merwara, and twice at Kurnool. Both the British and native Governments have, however, been active in meeting the crisis. Relief works, of permanent utility, on lines and plans prepared beforehand, have saved thousands who would otherwise have perished. Outbreaks of cholera too have been reported from Trichinopoly, Bombay harbour, Quettah, the Pishin and Kohat valleys, Peshawur, Lahore, and Meerut.

Sayad Sir Ahmad Ali has made a successful tour to collect funds for the improvement of the Aligarh College. As an instance of Muhammadan generosity for educational purposes, we note that one small town gave Rs. 24,000, while their Highnesses Begum of Bhopal and the Nizam of Hyderabad have again contributed largely.

The Imperial diamond case has reached the stage of the formal trial of Mr. Jacob. The Hyderabad jewel robbery case and Mr. Palmer's claims are still undecided. Mr. J. P. Warburton, District Superintendent of Police of



Umritsur, has won his case for libel against the *Lahore Tribune*. The editor apologized, and the proprietor paid a large sum for damages. Mr. Warburton has taught a good lesson to papers of a particular class.

An increased number of messages enables the Indian telegraph to more than pay its way, notwithstanding a reduction of rates. The new year opens with a reduction in the Post-Office rates also, for books, printed matter, etc., to India, among other places. A return, to the end of June, 1890, gave for all India 137 spinning mills, with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million spindles, and 25,000 looms, consuming fully 39 per cent. of the cotton output of India. Since 1880, spindles had more than doubled, looms nearly doubled, and the number of hands more than trebled.

We record with regret the death, during the quarter, of the Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, some time Governor-General of India ; of General Sir George W. G. Greene, B.S.C., who served with distinction in the Scinde, Punjab, and Mutiny campaigns ; of Mr. Sergeant George Atkinson, the father of the Bombay Bar ; of the Right Rev. Michael Angelo Jacopi, O.C., Archbishop of Agra. The last had served consecutively for fifty years, quitting India only once.

The Amir of Afghanistan, after making a show of wishing to visit both India and England, has resolved to stay at home ; while a St. Petersburg journal announced early in November that an Afghan mission to conclude an alliance with the Czar had already reached Bokhara, *en route* for the former city. Report says he does not trouble about the Pamirs. His efforts to get on better terms with the merchants trading to Caubul have not been successful. A certain Russian called Ali-Khan — suspected of being the notorious Alikhanoff, and a spy—is said to be kept under surveillance in Afghanistan. (Early in September a suspicious-looking Russian was deported from Bombay back to Russia by the Government.) Sirdar Umra Khan of Jandol was attacked by the chiefs of Lalpura, Nawaghi, and Girdani, urged on, it was said, by the Amir ; but he beat the combined forces, and still holds his own.

The CEYLON tea trade continues to extend. To W. Australia her shipments have increased from 1,582,823 lbs. to 67,463,742 lbs. Her shipments include smaller quantities to China, India, Germany, and America. It is stated that large quantities of nickel and some uranium are to be found in the refuse of the Ceylon Plumbago mines, which, under the native system of mining, are not utilized.

BURMA.—A rich vein of tin, giving as much as 60 per cent., has been discovered in the Mergui district. Famine has been raging in Upper Burma, especially in Yen, Chindwin, Yamathin, and Meiktila. In some cases the poor have been reduced to feeding on grass, roots, and leaves. Rain-making experiments have been tried, but with very partial success. Sir A. Mackenzie, with the sanction of Government, has established a military post at Kampoung Choung on the Mampoung River, at the border of Burma and China, where a Burmese post had existed before our occupation of the country. The Chinese mandarin first accepted the situation; and our ambassador at Peking tried to obtain imperial recognition of the fact, which would probably settle the delimitation question; but China has ordered its troops not to yield. At Rangoon a statue was unveiled last month to Sir Arthur Phaire, the first Commissioner of Burmah,—the inaugurative speech being delivered by Bishop Bigandet, the veteran Pali scholar, a friend of Sir Arthur's, and one of the oldest European residents of Rangoon.

From SIAM we learn that Messrs. Murray and Campbell's tender for the Korat railway has been accepted. The famine is reported to be severe in the Meikong valley. Attention is being drawn to the peculiar position of this country between British and French territories, and there is talk about its necessary final absorption by one or other. Lord Cross found himself compelled to speak out on this subject when treating of the desire of England to see Persia and Afghanistan independent and prosperous.

The STRAITS' SETTLEMENT returns for the third quarter of this year, give for imports \$31,500,000, being a decrease

of ten per cent., and for exports \$30,000,000, an increase of five per cent. The Imperial Defence Subsidy is causing great dissatisfaction. From the Philippine Islands comes news of the final suppression of the rebellion in Mindanao.

In JAPAN the Island of Nippon, especially in its southern parts, has been ravaged by a fearful earthquake. It was attended with subsidence of land, fissures in the earth, the splitting in two of the top of the sacred mountain Fusi-yama, an eruption of the volcano Nagusan. Many bridges, roads and railways have been damaged. The towns of Hyogo, Ogaki, Nagoya, and Osaka suffered heavily. No less than 8,000 are reported as killed, and 10,000 injured; and 84,000 houses as destroyed and 22,000 as damaged. The returns of the Japanese cotton mills show great progress since 1888. Their number has increased from 19 to 30: the spindles from 83,360 to 300,459. The returns for last year give the total revenue at £22,862,216; the exports at £9,581,322,—the imports at £13,280,849. In Japan's foreign trade, England is first; then, a long way off, come in order, America, China, France, and Germany. Of this trade, nearly 80 per cent. is done by foreign firms.

CHINA.—In connection with the outbreaks we recorded last quarter, a Mr. Mason was arrested and tried by the British Supreme Court, and pleading guilty was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment for smuggling dynamite, rifles, and ammunition for the Kolao Hui secret society—apparently a most inadequate punishment. Threats and fresh outbreaks against foreigners have kept up the unfortunate agitation of the past, till even Japanese war vessels have had to be sent to China to protect Japanese interests. The indemnity already paid by China for damages is said to be 600,000 taels. Early in December, risings took place in two different districts of East Manchuria, but have been easily suppressed; not, however, till several hundred Christians had been slaughtered. Reports are, however, so conflicting and accounts so exaggerated that we refrain from giving details till we get better infor-

mation. A terrible fire at Hankow destroyed 1,500 houses, about 200 women and children being burnt. The concession made by Lord Salisbury of a Chinese Consul at Hong Kong has been rendered nugatory by the absurd limitation of his *exequatur* to one year only : China very rightly declines to name a consul on such insulting terms.

The Russell Surveying party have, with a loss of six men from the hardships of the service, finished a survey of great part of Alaska. At Vlodiostock Russia's feverish activity is rapidly producing, as a counterpoise to Hong-Kong, a vast establishment : fortifications, barracks for 10,000 troops, a military magazine, a naval arsenal, and large repairing docks. Her fleet there at present consists of 6 specially selected cruisers, and several gun and torpedo boats. It is now terrorized by 14 convicts escaped from the Railway works. The same world-disturbing restlessness has decided on erecting a continuous chain of fortifications all along the Russian frontiers, touching those of China and Persia ;—a line of forts from the Pacific to the Caspian.

In Central Asia, the Amir of Khain, near the province of Khorassan, died in November, and was succeeded by his eldest son. In PERSIA a fanatic rising at Mazenderan was quickly and easily suppressed. The tobacco monopoly is causing much dissatisfaction and producing riots. The reported treaty between Persia and Russia is denied. A General Michael Pedrovich Theodorovich has passed through Persia to Gwadur in Beluchistan, 300 miles west of Karachi, to join 4 other Russian officers who are there. At Teheran Sir Frank Lascelles has replaced Sir H. Drummond-Wolff as Ambassador. The Imperial Persian Bank, after paying all taxes, royalties, and other expenses, and carrying £3,094 to the next account, has declared a dividend of 5 per cent.

The rebellion in Yemen is still unsubdued, but the rebels seem quite content with being left in peace. The Turkish Governor is not strong enough to attack them. Damascus has suffered from a severe outbreak of cholera, which,

however, has at length subsided. A syndicate under Mr. Stainforth has projected a railway between Constantinople and Bagdad, and the Sultan has the scheme under consideration: it is to be finished in nine years. Meanwhile, there is a poor report of the Smyrna - Cassalia Railway. The rumoured French occupation of Sheikh Said, the south-western point of Arabia, is discredited.

EGYPT is more prosperous than ever, and its exceptionally large crops of last year are surpassed this year—cotton 10, and cereals 50 per cent. Railway receipts have increased by £200,000, and the Daira Sanieh gives a clear surplus of £50,000. The Budget surplus is £500,000. During the last three years, £600,000 of taxation have been remitted, and no new taxes have been imposed, except that on European professional men, which yields only £30,000. The new Penal Code has been approved by the Mixed Court; Ibrahim Fuad Pasha is Minister of Justice; a Native Court of Appeal is formed with Achmet Balig as President; and the Legal College has been put under a French Principal and four English teachers, in the hope of producing good native lawyers and judges. Dr. Greene Pasha, head of the Sanitation Department, has resigned from ill-health and is succeeded by Dr. Rogers Pasha. The Cairo drainage scheme progresses in spite of French opposition, which is just now the great evil in Egypt: even the very useful, if not necessary, inspection of chemists' shops had to be modified to soothe their sensitiveness. The Government and the Suez Canal Company have agreed to make a steam tramway and a fresh-water canal from Ismailia to Port Said, pending the making of a railway; the work will soon be finished. Several new discoveries of ancient monuments are announced at Aboukir; and, among other explorers, Mr. Flinders-Petrie is again at work at Tel-el-Amarna. M. Grébaut has refused to let the Exploration Fund work at Memphis; and the pretext for this is false, as the contractor who makes the so-called State excavations there is not a Government official but a well-known-Vandal. The P.

and O. Company have decided on giving up their Venice service ; and from the 15th January their steamers will go from Alexandria alternate weeks to Brindisi and Naples. Cheaper continental railway contractors have almost completely superseded the English firms, which only a few years ago had quite a monopoly in Egypt.

Sir C. Euans Smith is now H. M.'s Minister at Tangiers. In the interior of Morocco there has been some hard fighting between the Kabyles and the Moorish Arabs. In Western Africa the corpse of King Ja-Ja was delivered to his people and buried, with barbaric honours, in the presence of the new Commissioner, Col. Macdonald ; the demarcation of territory between the French and English has been accomplished ; a German punitive expedition in the Cameroons dearly purchased its success by the death of its leader, Lt. Gravenrath ; and a new governor has been appointed over the Congo State. In the South, the census returns for Cape Colony has given the population at 1,525,224. Mr. Beck has discovered some more remains like those at Zimbabwe. Fort Victoria already is, and Fort Salisbury soon will be, in telegraphic communication with the world. Mr. Charles Rhodes, the premier, announced that the English and Portuguese have decided on the coast railway, the surveys of which will be made within six months, when, if the latter decline to make the railway, it will be done by the South Africa Company, to which Lobenguela also has given full powers for the development of his country. The alluvial gold deposits seem to have been worked out by some ancient people ; but the gold reefs of Mashonaland promise good results as soon as batteries are provided, which Mr. Rhodes said would soon be sent up *viâ* the coast. Extremely rich reefs have been found near Fort Victoria and along the Umzwezwe river. At Mozambique some Portuguese settlements have been attacked and destroyed by the Mafta tribe. The Delgado concessions, till now inoperative for want of money, have through Mr. Moreing secured English capital to £150,000 ; and Colonel Machado,

who is friendly to the English, goes out as first Governor-General of the Company. Zanzibar has entered on a new phase—a regular Government, with General Matthews as President. Mr. H. Robertson has the Revenue department, Captain Hatch the Army and Police, Captain Hardinge the Harbour and Lights, Mr. Bomanji the Public Works, and M. ben Saif the Treasury. Accounts will be kept in English and Arabic. The Sultan is to have an ample civil list, and a voice in all public expenditure, which must also be approved by the British Consul : good results are expected. Emin Pasha, accompanied by Dr. Stuhlmann has gone to Wadilai, *via* Usangoro and Mwamba, and is said to have been enthusiastically welcomed by his former subjects, 9,000 of whom are well armed. He has discovered a new river rising near the Tanganyika, and flowing into the Albert Nyanza. Having quitted the sphere of German influence and gone into that of England, Germany has proclaimed him a deserter and washed her hands of him. Major Wissman is reported to be ill, and Count von Soden has resigned. At Uganda troubles and rivalries between Catholics, Protestants, and Muhammadans continue. Captain Lugard is reported to have repulsed the Muhammadan attack ; but this unsatisfactory state of affairs is treated elsewhere. Captain J. R. S. Macdonald, Lieuts. Austen and Pringle of the R.E., and a staff of fifty Pathan assistants, have gone from India to survey the line of railway.

WEST INDIES.—A cable is being laid between the United States and the Bahama Islands, to be working in February. Bermuda has been ravaged by a hurricane, which sunk the despatch boat *Pioneer*. Returns from Trinidad show a continual growth of the trade with America in oranges, limes, and bananas ; and the revenue from the Pitch Lake has risen from £855 in 1881, to £26,744. The British and West Indian Alliance have asked Lord Salisbury to receive a deputation to lay before the Government the chief grievances of the West Indies in general. They regard (1)

the judges and administration of justice ; (2) the costliness of appeals ; (3) the want of representation in the Legislative Councils. These at present consist entirely of officials and Crown nominees ; and the admission of an elective element from the best members of each race is urgently demanded. At St. Vincent these grievances have just culminated in a serious riot and assault on the Governor.

CANADA.—This year's wheat-crop, the largest on record, has compelled the Millers' Association to appoint a resident delegate in England. The wheat-crop exceeds last year's by 16,000,000 bushels, the oats by 22,000,000, and the barley by 500,000. Nearly 40 millions of eggs have been brought to England, and 369,880 barrels of apples. The number of horses exported to England has increased, some of them fetching as much as 100 gs. in London ; but the cattle exports to England have slightly fallen, owing to diversion to the New York markets. The want of a fast line of steamers between England and Halifax is much felt, and it is a wonder why it has not long ago been supplied. Mr. Abbott has reconstructed his Cabinet, which may prove stronger than before. The Election Courts have unseated 12 Liberals and 6 Conservatives. The Scandals are not yet at an end. Some of the accused have escaped, as they say in Italy, by the skin of their teeth ; others not even so. Several are under arrest, or prosecution, or inquiry : the details of the unpleasant revelations are not inviting. The misunderstanding with Newfoundland about the prohibition of bait and fish to Canadian vessels continues ; and as the Law officers have declared it to be *ultra vires*, the matter is expected soon before the Privy Council on appeal. The returns of the last three months' trade show a falling off in imports, exports, and customs revenue in Canada. The reduction of the sugar duties alone is responsible for a fall of \$105,406.

AUSTRALIA.—The Messageries Maritimes are showing us how steamers should be run. Their *Australien* and *Polynésien* liners run from Australia to Marseilles in 23 and 24 days at a rate of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  knots, while our mail vessels take 35



days at the rate of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  knots.—Why? The expedition fitted out by Sir T. Elder, composed of 10 members headed by Mr. David Lindsay, to explore the country between the 15th and 30th parallels S.L., has, after six months' absence, been heard of from Espérance Bay. Details are wanting; but they report a general absence of water, which caused intense suffering. On the resignation of Sir H. Parkes, Mr. Dibbs formed a mixed ministry, depending for existence on the Labour party. This is already split into sections, and its vote is doubtful on all but labour questions. Mr. G. H. Reid heads the Opposition, but Sir H. Parkes retains the lead of the Federation party. As Mr. Barton has only joined the ministry with Federation as a *sine quâ non*, this measure is sure to pass.

The South Australian Railway Commissioners' report shows an increase of £91,946 in receipts, enabling them, after all disbursements, to pass £175,650 to the general revenue of the country. There have been troubles between buyers and sellers of wool—the latter having to give way. The Northumberland Banking Corporation has suspended payment, and some of its directors are under arrest; and other failures have followed. The panic, however, has subsided, and several smaller houses, which had to close temporarily, have again resumed business.

Mr. See's Budget announced a deficit of £589,000 for this year, but prophesied a surplus next year of £358,000. The Opposition declare that both are fictitiously got up for party purposes. The political outlook is not very bright. The Ministry have no sure majority; and the Opposition has two heads—by no means concordant—in Sir H. Parkes and Mr. Reed. The colony is, however, more than solvent. The Hon. Sir John Bray has been appointed Agent General for South Australia, in place of the Hon. Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., whose death we record with deep regret: we were often indebted to him for valuable information. The Tasmanian Budget shows a clear surplus of £45,000; and the colony is trying to raise a loan for its further development.

## REVIEWS.

1. *The Melanesians; Studies in their Anthropology and Folklore.* By R. H. CODRINGTON, D.D.; with Illustrations. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1891.) Dr. Codrington has not only great experience in Melanesian matters, owing to his long residence as a missionary in the islands he describes, but he possesses the even rarer qualification of knowing where to seek for trustworthy information, the way to utilize it, and the strength to resist the temptation of first laying down a theory and then trying to make facts fit into it. This book gives us a very treasury of information regarding the Melanesian Islands: their social regulations, including what has been aptly termed the system of Matriarchy, their social government, rules of inheritance and possession; their secret societies, mysteries, and clubs; their religion and sacrifices; their prayers and curses; their ideas of spirits, sacred places and things. Dr. Codrington very rightly points out that strangers are apt to make mistakes from the imperfection of language, and the difficulty of explanation of unknown words, as exemplified in the case of the same word signifying, in Melanesian, Shadow and Soul, from which it does not follow (as he rightly says) that the Melanesians believe that men have no souls, or only material ones, or shadows. He proceeds in subsequent chapters to give details of their ceremonies and customs at births, during childhood, and at marriage, death, and burial. He touches on their arts and industries, dress, dances, music, and games. A chapter is given, under the head *Miscellaneous*, to cannibalism and other vices, to their astronomy, narcotics, numbers, measures, and modes of salutation. A set of seventeen original tales from the Melanesian group completes the work. We sincerely recommend it to our readers; for it is full of matter simply yet pleasantly told. The mass of information conveyed is taken up and arranged in order; and instance is added to instance till each subject is made clear to the reader. Not only will the anthropologist and the student of folklore find here a mine of materials for the selection of arguments and the support of theories, but the general reader too will have a very pleasant picture of the course of life in these islands, which, till lately, retained all their ancient quaintness of manners, customs, and beliefs, *already* fast giving way before the levelling tide of Western civilization.

2. *The History of Human Marriage.* By ED. WESTERMARCK. (London: Macmillan & Co.) The importance of this anthropological treatise cannot be over-estimated. Remarkable in an unusual degree are the patient and wide-reaching research of the author, the classification of his material, and the general soundness of his deductions and conclusions. After stating his own method of investigation, which includes the showing of the errors of his predecessors, he successively treats of the origin of marriage, of a primitive human pairing season, and gives a detailed criticism of the hypothesis of promiscuity: this foul aspersion of modern authors, as unfounded in facts as it is unnatural in theory, the author, we think, completely and satisfactorily explodes. Then follow interesting chapters on marriage and

celibacy, on human courtship, on the means of attraction, and on liberty of choice. The origin of dress is attributed to the desire of attraction, instead of to the feeling of shame or modesty. Next follows a criticism and partial rejection of Mr. Darwin's theory of sexual selection, in the course of which the author treats of typical beauty. Subjected to the ordeal of common sense, the conclusions under this head seem as much *in nubibus* as those of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Darwin on the subject; and but little advance is made towards a reasonable decision. After discussing the laws of similarity, our author treats of the intricate subject of the prohibition of marriage among kindred, which he traces to a natural reluctance to marry between those who dwell together, arising probably from the well-known principle, *assueta non movent*. The influences of affection, or love, and of calculation are weighed; and the author goes on to consider the various kinds of marriage—by capture, by purchase, by dowry, the one passing gradually into the other. Then come marriage ceremonies and rites, the different forms of marriage, the consideration of polygamy, leading to a review of the numerical proportion of the sexes. Monogamy and the duration of the marriage tie are next treated; and a useful summary and index close the work. As our Reviews aim rather at informing our readers what they will find in a book than anticipating their reading by quoting portions, we pass from this description to a short criticism. The entire work shows, throughout, the trace of a grievous original sin. This is the supposition,—much written and talked about and accepted, but still a mere supposition, not even proved, much less demonstrated,—that the human races are descended from “some ape-like progenitors.” This view, assumed throughout the book to be absolutely true, vitiates and taints the entire discussion; for it takes the author to the lowest forms of savage life for the origin of the marriage relations: one may as well hope to find the true origin of knighthood and chivalry among the head-hunting Dyaks of Borneo, or of Freemasonry in the absurd secret mummeries of the Melanesians. It is strange that men should go to the most debased human tribes to find the origin of marriage, instead of reasoning on it from the nature of man, while they reject the evidence of the universal human race regarding its origin by creation, and strive to prove by anatomical discussions that it proceeded from “some ape-like progenitors.” Besides this defect of principle, we must also say that the author is far more successful in destroying the assertions of other writers, which, on the subject of human marriage, are often based on the most flimsy structures, than in building up sound theories of his own. He not unfrequently falls into the very mistakes of hasty generalization from partial or inconclusive evidence, which he justly condemns in others. An instance occurs at p. 34, where he hastily generalizes in favour of a primitive pairing season for man, at the beginning of summer or end of spring; a conclusion against which stands the long gestation and lactation of the human babe. For believers in the ape descent of man, this book is simply perfect, presenting a good solution of many interesting problems from this peculiar point of view. For others, it is still a great storehouse of classified facts, fair reasoning on which will lead, in many cases, to conclusions more reliable and principles nearer to the truth than the author has attained. Both classes of readers

will find it a systematic, well-discussed, and amply detailed work on a subject of high interest and importance, which is illustrated by the author with an elaborate mass of evidence from all countries, races, and laws.

3. *The Caliphate : its Rise, Decline, and Fall.* By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I. (London : The Religious Tract Society.) To traverse the little-known paths of Muhammadan History under the guidance of Sir William Muir is a pleasure. He has a thorough grasp of his subject, owing to his deep and diligent research, his extensive reading, and his sympathetic appreciation of Oriental matters, while he holds fairly the balance as an impartial historian. His Biography of Muhammad was a pioneer work of immense value ; for it portrayed truthfully both the man and his attendant circumstances and the influences which developed his character and stamped his work. The present volume may be considered a continuation of the History of Islam from the death of Muhammad to the fall of the Caliphate. His task takes him through various epochs, some of pure glory, others of fair action, and at the close, many of weakness and shame. Here is told the tale of human life—*bona mixta malis*—much as we find life elsewhere. Numerous are the examples of religious fervour, of disinterested attachment, of heroic self-abnegation, of wild daring and reckless bravery, of dogged perseverance, of charming simplicity. But there are deeds of blood, and acts of cruelty, and shameful crimes. No matter what one's faith may be, no man can withhold the meed of praise deserved by Muhammad's immediate successors, Abubekr and Omar I. The character of the former, simply though it is sketched at pp. 84, 85, is sketched by a master hand, and shows the man to the life ; and the same impartiality puts in the light and shade, as it is deserved by each of the successors to the Caliphate. Several are dismissed with a bare line or two ; but it was all they deserved. For, as Sir W. Muir leads us through the Ommeyyad line to the Abbassides, there is less of good and more of evil with each advancing step. As the first fervour of Muhammadanism cools beneath the deluge of the spoils of Asia and Africa, there is less to admire and more to blame in the history of the Caliphate. The same class of men no longer come to the front ; and under unfit rulers the people become bad, and in their turn react upon the character of their chiefs. This part of universal history is comparatively a sealed book to the ordinary English reader ; and he will find much that is quite new, strange, and perhaps seemingly incredible. He will see, for instance, his old friend the Haroun al Rashid of the *Arabian Nights*, stripped of the glorious robes in which the imagination of the nameless author of those enchanting tales had enveloped him, and presented as by no means a very good Muhammadan, or a great ruler, or even a just man. Sir William is a careful writer. He depends mostly on Arabian records ; but these he supplements, wherever it is possible, from Byzantine and other sources, reasons on them, and gives also the results of previous Occidental research on his subject. Mere tales he avoids ; we look in vain for that of the destruction of the great Library of Alexandria, with others just as apocryphal. To our eyes the book is marred by its last chapter—a summary in which the author very needlessly thrusts in a comparison of Christianity and Muhammadanism. Muhammadanism is six

centuries younger than Christianity; and though we are not admirers of the former, we recall to mind what Europe, though Christian, was six centuries ago. Before we can dare to yet talk about the tree being known by its fruit, we should, like the fabled Haroun, walk the streets of our Christian cities by night—London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, New York, Paris, Vienna, Rome—why multiply names? We commend this book to our readers, as a clear, full, and just history of a very eventful period in the life of the human race, several of the results and effects of which survive fully till now, and seem still endowed with a vitality that may at some future date make another mark on the annals of time.

4. *Clyde and Strathnairn (Rulers of India Series)*. By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR O. T. BURNE, K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press.) This new volume of a most interesting series, from the pen of a competent author, fully maintains the high reputation justly earned by its predecessors. Its pages are equally divided between the two great soldiers whose history is here related. General Burne is a good narrator, fair and impartial, who, while he dwells on all that is good of his heroes, is neither blind to their faults nor silent as to their mistakes, though he is even then delicate in his censure and sparing in his blame. This is well exemplified in the first half, which treats of Lord Clyde's career in India during the trying times of the Mutiny. While narrating the operations which Sir Colin Campbell conducted personally in Oudh and Rohilkhund, we are shown pretty plainly the truth, which less conscientious writers have overlaid with undue praise, that grave defects occurred and serious blunders were made. The over-careful attendance to red-tape rules and supposed scientific strategy, which prevented an exhibition of the energy and dash required on the occasion, are known to have been due as much to Sir Colin's chief of the staff, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, as to that leader himself. The retreat from Lucknow in the teeth of Outram's advice,—the shackling of that "Bayard of India" by an express cut-and-dried order "not to lose one man," which allowed the rebels to escape from Lucknow and flood the country,—the bootless marchings and countermarchings of large bodies of troops, without decisive results,—all show that the rebellion might have been more easily and speedily suppressed in those districts, had fate given the command in chief to an abler general, though there could not be a better soldier, than Sir Colin. But then during the Mutiny, few of the men in high power and authority distinguished themselves for great ability or vigorous action. These were qualities then oftener displayed by new men and subordinate officers.

In the second part of the book we have a man of a very different stamp in Sir Hugh Rose—Lord Strathnairn, whose dashing and successful campaign in Central India is very pleasant reading indeed after the history of the Oudh operations. It gave the *coup de grace* to the Mutiny, and helped Sir Colin to end his own campaign in a success which might otherwise have been long postponed. Our author does not fail to note that Sir Hugh Rose's brilliant work did not receive from the British nation that meed of either praise or reward to which all competent critics hold it to have been eminently entitled. If there be a defect in this book, it is one common to the whole series—that of giving only too briefly the careers of

the Rulers before they went to India. It would be more pleasant to the reader to have these not uneventful parts of their biographies more fully noticed. The concluding two chapters are of great interest. One inculcates the lessons of the Mutiny, and the other treats of the subsequent re-organization of the Indian army. This latter part needs to be more fully treated; and as the author, from his long Indian and military experience, is most competent to do it justice, we trust that a second edition will give a more detailed account of what has been and is being done to make the Indian army a fit weapon for the defence of the Indian Empire. We venture to repeat to the enterprising Publishers, that the map they prefix to the volumes of this series is singularly inappropriate, as it does not contain the names of places where either battles were fought or fortresses stormed. At p. 87, "The Ravi," is a misprint for "The Rapti."

5. *Half Hours with Muhammad.* By ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.) Under a quaint and somewhat misleading title, Mr. Wollaston, of the India Office, gives a brief history of Muhammad, his successors and his followers, to the death of the last Imam, together with accounts of the belief, practices, and customs of Muhammadans, both Sunni and Shiah. He writes from an independent and unprejudiced point of view, and he consequently finds much to praise and much also to blame, though the praise on the whole predominates. The book contains nothing new, as the author himself is careful to tell us; and yet the work is a new one, because it presents Muhammadanism to the general reader in a condensed and easily accessible form. Mr. Wollaston's long residence in the East and his close study of its peoples enable him to do full justice to a religion only too often condemned on every point by Western writers, who forget that whatever may be its shortcomings, its stern monotheism has done relatively good service to millions of the human race. The author clearly and fairly explains the real doctrines of Islam; and many will be surprised to find it so different in its beliefs and practices from what is generally supposed. The doctrinal parts of this book we have found to be the most pleasant to read; for though the history of Muhammad and the Caliphs and Imams is accurately and briefly told, yet the narrative is marred by serious blemishes of style. Mr. Wollaston seems unable to get rid of the laboured phraseology of the "Anwar-i So-heli" which he has so well translated; and his style in consequence is stilted and turgid. This defect, in places, is so serious, that passages have to be read twice and sometimes thrice, before the author's meaning dawns on the mind. Here and there the use of wrong adjectives gives rise to blunders, which in an Irishman would be called "Bulls." If the book reaches a second edition, an honour which its matter well deserves, we would recommend a thorough change of style. It would, among other advantages, save space for more items of information; and would bring nearer to perfection what, even in its present state, is an invaluable contribution, in a popular form, to the history of a most important religious belief. As particularly interesting as they are carefully and accurately detailed, are the chapters narrating how the Kuran was edited and the traditions compiled, how the various sects arose, and how Sunnis and

Shiahs differ. Perhaps the author exaggerates the honours paid by the latter sect to the son-in-law of Muhammad : we certainly have never met a Shiah who went to such exaggerated lengths as Mr. Wollaston gives, though history tells ages ago of a few fanatics who held such views. This seems the only injustice done by the author to any of the numerous parties of whom his work necessarily treats.

#### NOTICES.

*The History of the Bengal European Regiment.* By LT.-COL. P. R. INNES. (London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co.) This is a hitherto unwritten chapter in the history of India ; for though the ground traversed is the eventful record of the whole time of British power in that country till 1870, it treats the subject from a special point of view. It has evidently and naturally been for the author a labour of love ; and the task has been performed with care, diligence, and skill. As a continuous and detailed record of the prominent part taken in momentous events by a very distinguished, but till now not sufficiently well-known corps, it should occupy a high place among the Histories of Regiments. We note with pleasure the author's impartial praise, wherever deserved, of the native armies and chiefs which the Regiment encountered and helped to overcome, in many cases not without the greatest efforts. Col. Innes notes the many instances of excellent generalship, both in strategy and tactics, displayed by the enemy, and the even more frequent gallantry and dogged resistance of their troops, and the vigour and dash of their charges in the field. Though not of great importance, there are occasional inaccuracies in details ; as, for instance, when the author echoes the opinion, now quite exploded, that Lord Hardinge was taken unprepared by the Sikhs, in our first war with them. The flight, too, of our cavalry and artillery from Ferozeshah is not noticed, in an otherwise good description of that bloody and indecisive battle. Some little injustice, also, is done to the 3rd Royal European Regiment, already existing before the Indian Mutiny, in which it did important service, not sufficiently treated by Col. Innes. But as a record of the Regiment to which the author himself belonged, his history leaves nothing to be desired.

*The Sportsman's Vade-mecum for the Himalayas.* (London : Horace Cox & Co.) This is a thorough sportsman's book, the author's identity being but slightly veiled under the reversed letters of his regimental nickname. One half is devoted to a detailed description of the requirements of a sportsman's kit, for the regions of the Indian mountain ranges ; and here the griff will find much that will be of service to him to study and to act upon. The author is a reliable guide, and considers nothing too trivial to touch upon, which his experience has proved to be useful. The second half of the book contains the relation of some of his own sporting adventures, after Ibex and Markhor, Bear and Barasing, and other game not always easy to find or to bag. These are told modestly ; and there is a very refreshing absence of those "tall tales" of preternatural bags of impossible game, which are sometimes heard of at the mess table and the

camp fire, and occasionally get even into print. The author shows his thorough sportsmanship in his firm resolution of going only after one kind of game at a time, and in his undeviating decision not to kill, except when worth the while for really good "spoils of the chase." How different from the reckless slaughter of unripe game at other hands ! As we turn over these spirited pages, we live again the days of our youth, and see, in imagination, the familiar tent on the breezy hills.

*Some Interesting Syrian and Palestinian Inscriptions.* By J. RENDEL HARRIS. (Cambridge and London : C. J. Clay & Sons.) This little work of only thirty-five pages contains the author's remarks on some inscriptions (most of them well known before, as he does no fail to tell us) which he copied during his tour in Palestine and Syria, in 1888-9. Very few of them are of much historic or general interest, though their value to the professional archæologist may be great. The first, from a handsome sarcophagus, traces, but by no means proves, a connexion between the lady for whom it was made and the Claudius Lysias of the Acts of the Apostles. The second, regarding the Tenth Legion, is of greater interest, and is also treated at greater length. The last is an account of a forged inscription, which is amusing from more than one point of view. There are three pages of illustrations, exceedingly well executed. The work is scholarly ; and the learned author's guesses, sometimes on slight foundations, are deserving of consideration. If they do not always convince, they show, at least, great ingenuity.

*Our Antipodes.* By G. VERSCHUUR ; translated by MARY DANIELS. (London : Sampson, Low & Co.) This is a lively, chatty, and agreeable, though in some respects, perhaps, a superficial description of a leisurely visit to Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Fiji, New Caledonia, Brazil, and the La Plata. The translator's part is excellently done, so that one hardly realizes that he is reading a Frenchman's book. It is well illustrated. The author particularly details the worst features of French administration in the Colonies, and especially the absurdly generous treatment of convicts. We can only hope that it will create attention in the proper quarter, and lead to much-needed reforms, the want of which has hitherto marred one of the fairest countries in the Southern waters. Since the publication of the book, the author's prognostications have been fulfilled regarding both Brazil and the Argentine Republic, in the expulsion of the Emperor, Dom Pedro, and of the financial collapse—it is to be hoped only a temporary one—at Buenos Ayres. A good portion of the work is given to a description of these two countries, though how they are included in the "Antipodes" of either France or England, does not appear. The author, who loses no opportunity, and often creates one, of telling us how far and wide he has travelled, allows nothing to escape his vigilant and experienced eyes ; and his frequent comparisons of men, places, and things are very agreeable. One of the most amusing, is that between the geographical knowledge of a little aboriginal schoolboy and that of a French Postmaster, much to the credit of the former.

*The Life and Times of Joseph in the Light of Egyptian Lore.* By the REV. H. G. TOMKINS. (London : The Religious Tract Society, 1891.)



Joseph is described but briefly in the Scripture, yet the terse and incisive narrative gives us the man, from boyhood to death, in vivid outline; and it is painting the lily to add to the picture. Egyptian Lore might do something, however, by fixing his exact epoch amid the different dynasties, or by giving us details of his administration, or by furnishing a fit background in the description of ancient Egyptian manners and customs of life. Our author reaches the 31st page before we hear of Egypt at all. The precise dynasty and king are left as indeterminate as before, except for one guess, and a rather unwarranted deduction from an inscription mentioning a famine met by a local governor from his accumulated stores of grain. Nothing is added to the Biblical account of Joseph's administration. Not enough is made of what is really known, to put vividly before the reader the manners and customs of ancient Egyptian life in general. Though otherwise full of important information, the book in consequence is rather disappointing. This is not entirely the fault of the author, whose acquaintance with all that can throw side-lights on Scripture History is evident at every page of his pleasant book. It is due also to the want of material. Many more discoveries must yet be made before Egyptian lore can throw any real light on the life and times of Joseph.

*The Hindu-Koh.* By GENERAL D. MACINTYRE. (London: W. Blackwood & Sons.) A well-got-up and well-written account of many a pleasant trip, full of adventure, among various parts of the great Himalaya mountains, by a veteran sportsman who wields equally well both rifle and pen. Its only defect is, perhaps, the lateness of its publication, as several adventures go up to the years before the Indian Mutiny. The lover of nature and the follower of sport will find equal pleasure in General MacIntyre's pages, many of which show descriptive powers of no common order. We recommend it as a book both pleasant and instructive to read.

*The Chinese Shi-King, or Classical Poetry.* Translated by the REV. J. JENNINGS. (London: George Routledge & Sons.) These simple but very interesting poems, which were old in the days of Confucius, and were "edited" by him, are very pleasantly put into English verse by a very competent Chinese scholar. They serve to show that human nature was much the same as now in those remote ages; and that Chinese culture already existed in an advanced state. Many of them are full of pathos, nearly all have some charm; and the translator has taken every pains to make his version attractive.

*The Land of the Lamas; or, Travels in Thibet.* By W. R. ROCKHILL. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.) This is a well-illustrated and painstaking account of a journey through practically unknown lands, by a traveller who had carefully prepared himself for the task by a study of both the Chinese and Thibetan languages. Though he failed to reach Lhasa, which was the object with which he started, he has given a very interesting and detailed account of the parts he traversed, and of the people he sojourned with. All his space is given to these subjects; and it is refreshing to find so little devoted to complaints of his own sufferings and troubles: a common fault in travellers. As a book of information on men, manners, and the country, it will be found of great service; and the itineraries at the end are especially useful.

*The Life and Teachings of Muhammad ; or, the Spirit of Islām.* By SYED AMIR ALI, C. I. E., Judge of the High Court, Calcutta. (London : W. H. Allen & Co.) We wish to deal leniently with this book, because its object is a good one—to make better known to the West the religion of Muhammad, and its author is a cultured Indian gentleman of great learning and wide reading. The work, however, does not attain the high level of those of Sir W. Muir or others that have been noticed by us. The author represents an ideal, rather than existing, Islam. He repeatedly shows partiality, and his history is not correct ; while his continual, and often unjust and inaccurate, fault-finding with Christianity, Judaism, Brahminism, Buddhism,—in fact with everything that is not his own special form of belief,—disfigures his pages to a lamentable extent. This we should like to see changed ; and in place thereof, the author would improve his cause by quoting, at as great length as he can, the Koran proofs for a spiritual Heaven, and similar contested points, as he has so fully done on matters admitted by all.

*Pitt.* By LORD ROSEBERY. (London : Macmillan & Co.) A well-written, impartial, accurate, and full account of one of the eminent statesmen of England. We turn naturally to note Lord Rosebery's account of the Union, and find him,—what his present political chief is not,—just to Pitt. In comparing the Union of England, respectively, with Scotland and Ireland, the author somehow forgets that they resembled each other very much in the extensive bribery which attended both : Lockhart gives the sums paid for the Scotch Union. Our readers will find Lord Rosebery's book a more than usually attractive volume of a good and useful series.

*Theosophy, Buddhism, and the Signs of the End.* By G. H. PEMBER, M.A. (London : Hodder & Stoughton.) We had expected great things in this book, from its taking title. We regret to say that we have found it a most confused mess of Theosophy, Buddhism, Brahminism, some other 'isms, and Christianity : the author's knowledge of each of them is about equal.

*Poésies Hébraïco-Provençales du Rituel Israélite Comtadin, traduites et transcrites par S. M. Dom Pedro II. d'Alcantara, Empereur du Brésil.* (Avignon : Seguin Frères.) This little book gives four quaint Provençal Jewish Hymns in Hebrew characters on one page, and a French translation opposite. His Majesty, a ripe Hebrew and Arabic scholar, has retained the original intermixture of Hebrew and Provençal ; the latter tongue given in italics, amid the French of a translation, simple like these hymns, and very accurate. The last is Chaldæo-Provençal, turned into the latter tongue. Alas ! the hand that, aided by Dr. Seybold, prepared this work for the press, is now cold in death ; and we take this opportunity of presenting our tribute to the memory of the conscientious ruler, the successful philanthropist, the diligent scholar, the calm philosopher, and the blameless and good man, who, leaving an imperial throne to which he was an honour, amused his leisure in study, leaving us part of the results in these sixty pages, published only a few days before he went to his rest.

Turning from grave to gay, in one of his many easy and eloquent passages, M. GENNADIOS, at a recent meeting of the Royal Society, referred to the praise of "a great poet who was also the brother of an earl." He has

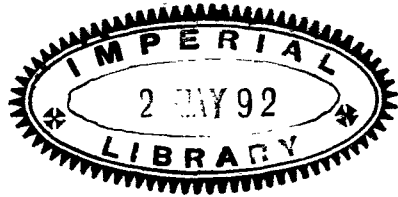
now given us a specimen of indignant sarcasm against those who would degrade so-called Modern Greek to "a vernacular bow-wow," in a brilliant introduction to Mrs. Edmonds' translation of "*The Autobiography of Kolokotronis, the Klepht and the Warrior: Sixty Years of Peril and Daring.*" (London: T. Fisher Unwin.) Suffice it to say that M. Gennadios, himself a type of the versatile and patriotic Greek, vindicates the successful attempts made by his fellow-countrymen to render their Æolo-Doric dialect of Ancient Greek worthy of the highest literary expression, in spite of the mistaken advice of friends like Lord Strangford, who would prevent it drawing from its natural source, its ancient culture as adapted to modern requirements. The same mistake has been made in India, where, instead of improving the vernaculars by the cultivation of the elegant Persian and of the profound Arabic or Sanscrit, first Persian was abolished as a language of Courts and then Arabic and Sanscrit were put aside, nominally in order to make room for the vernaculars. Once the vernaculars were deprived of their natural sources of improvement, they, in their turn, are making way for the pigeon-English or the romanized Urdu or Hindi, that will ever keep the natives from developing their own indigenous civilization. Not so the modern Greek; none so lowly as not to give his all, if need be, for instruction in Ancient Greek, and, therefore, we have a race that, fighting for its independence and inherited culture under heroes like Kolokotronis, is ever able to have a Homer to its Achilles and historians of its progress like M. Gennadios.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the following works, Reviews of which, crowded out of this number for want of space, we hope to give in our next.

1. *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys, 1875-90.* By C. E. D. BLACK. (Published by the India Office, 1891.) 2. *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria.* From the French of Prof. G. MASPERO. (London: Chapman and Hall.) 3. *Egypt under the Pharaohs.* By HEINDRICK BRUGSCH BEY. (London: John Murray.) 4. *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers.* By Miss AMELIA B. EDWARDS. (London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co.) 5. *Schliemann's Excavations.* (London: Macmillan & Co.) 6. *The Philippine Islands.* By JOHN FOREMAN. (London: Sampson Low & Co.) 7. *Un Viaggio a Nias.* By ELIO MODIGLIANI. (Milano: Fratelli Treves.)

We have also received:—1. *La Civiltà Cattolica.* Rome: Alessandro Beffani. 2. *Le Polybiblion.* Paris: Boulevard St. Germain. 3. *The Contemporary Review.* (London: Isbister & Co.) 4. Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, London. 5. *The Missionary Review.* (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls.) 6. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Magazine.* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable.) 7. *La Revue Générale.* (Bruxelles.) 8. *La Revue des Revues.* (Paris.) 9. *The Hindu Magazine.* A new publication. (Calcutta: The Excelsior Press.) 10. *El Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid.* 11. *Tung Pao: Archives pour l'Etude de l'Asie Orientale,* par MM. les Professeurs: Gustave Schlegel et Henri Cordier. (Leide: E. J. Brill, etc.)



THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

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APRIL, 1892.

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IS TURKEY 'PROGRESSING'?

EUROPE has been so much imbued with erroneous ideas on the general condition of affairs in Turkey, that the question which forms the title of this article would hardly seem open to any answer but a negative. Western people are accustomed to consider Turkey as a barbarous land full of all sorts of horrors; the Turks themselves as an uncivilized people, without any capacity for entering on the path of European nations, and the Turkish Government as a mixture of ignorance and fanaticism, capable of any misdeed that can be imagined. The most extravagant ideas about Turkey find credence in a Public that has no other source of information than the Press, which in many cases is, unfortunately, wanting in original information, and sometimes lies in the hands of persons to whose interest it is to prevent the truth from becoming known, and thus, in both cases, only contributes to increase the false and sensational ideas already prevailing in Europe. As the logical consequence of these unfounded notions, Turkey is judged as a state condemned to perish sooner or later; even its rights to independence and self-defence are sometimes denied, and the gloomy title of "sick man," an invention of Turkey's worst foes, is received by her truest but ignorant friends as a happy expression to describe the actual state of things in this country. The prevalence of these false ideas

about Turkey, so little in accordance with the general good sense and truth-searching qualities of the English Public, makes it a necessity to show in a brief and concise summary the amount of progress effected in Turkey since first the period of reform set in, and more especially during the reign of His Imperial Majesty 'Abdul Hamid II. It will be seen by this summary that the "sick man" is not so very near his grave after all, and that the "unspeakable Turk" is not so much a disgrace to the civilized world as must have been thought when that phrase was first launched.

The vast amount of progress made by Turkey during this present century is especially apparent when the present state of public instruction in that country is compared with what existed in former times. Until the beginning of this century the organization of public instruction was very defective and unsystematic. In those days there were but two kinds of schools, viz., the Elementary "Mahalleh" (ward) schools, where only the reading of the Korán with the principles of the Mussulman religion were taught, and the "Medressehs" or higher schools, where a kind of scholastic education, comprising Arabic, Commentaries on the Korán, the Sayings of the Prophet, Mahommedan Law and Jurisprudence, Literature, Physics, and Philosophy, was given to the students. These "Medressehs" were especially created for the training of the "Ulemas" who afterwards were to occupy the religious and judicial and some municipal posts; many civil functionaries, however, also acquired, in their ranks, the degree of instruction attainable at the time. In this system of teaching there was little room for the exact sciences, and technical instruction was totally wanting. Private instruction certainly supplied, in some respects, the want of material and positive learning; but the mass of the people were very much wanting in general information, and, if Turkish literature made considerable progress among the higher classes, little was made in the propagation of scientific knowledge.

Military reforms under Selim III. and Mahmoud II. necessitated the creation of some institutions for teaching the military and medical sciences, and thus the High Military College, "Mektébi Harbieh," the Artillery and the Military Medical Schools, were created. In addition to this, "Idadieh" schools, to prepare pupils for the instruction given in these newly-created institutions, were inaugurated in Constantinople and the chief towns of the seven army corps. Mahmoud II. founded also a Naval College where the English language was, and is yet, taught besides Turkish. These four institutions are still existing, and the Harbieh school includes a special section for the higher education and training of Staff officers. They contain, together with their "Idadieh" or preparatory schools, nearly 10,000 students. The Military Medical school has also a section for the instruction of veterinary surgeons.

Under the reign of Sultan 'Abdul Mejid, the father of His Majesty the present Sultan, serious attempts were made to institute throughout the Empire a regular system of instruction, and, in consequence, schools called "Rushdieh," where Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and the elements of the necessary sciences are taught, were created by hundreds in the capital and the provinces.

The Egyptian, Cretan, Montenegrin and Syrian difficulties, and the Crimean War and other events of the two reigns of 'Abdul Mejid and 'Abdul 'Aziz prevented Turkey from making much advance in intellectual development. The reign of 'Abdul 'Aziz saw the creation of another kind of "Rushdieh" schools under military supervision. These military "Rushdiehs" are scattered over all parts of the Empire, and their number has been considerably increased by His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid II. More than 9000 pupils go there to get a solid elementary education.

During this reign, also, a college was founded in Pera on the type of French Lyceums. In this college, called "Sultánieh" school, French is compulsory and a scientific education is given by French instructors in their own

language. Besides French and sciences, Turkish literature, Arabic and Persian are taught, and there are also professorial chairs for Greek, Armenian, German, English and Italian. There are more than 800 pupils in this institution.

The "Mektébi Sanayi," a technical and professional institution established in Constantinople, contains 400 young men learning some useful trade, and many chief towns of vilayets possess similar institutions.

At the same time another high school was created to train the "Ulema" candidates for the Sheri' magistracy. This college, called "Mektebi Newab" (school for Sheri' magistrates), is a very important establishment, where the Mahomedan law and jurisprudence are taught by the most prominent members of the "Ulema" class.

His present Majesty, 'Abdul Hamid II., has always been a sincere partisan of the diffusion of knowledge, and in spite of tremendous political and social difficulties, his reign eclipses the preceding one in this respect as well as in all other matters connected with public prosperity and progress. Even the horrors of an unfortunate war were not allowed by this energetic sovereign to be a serious obstacle to the execution of his educational designs, which he wisely considers to be the best means of regenerating Turkey.

The educational policy of His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid began by a master stroke. During the dreadful time of war, when the Russians were approaching Adrianople, H.I.M. thought of founding the "Mulkieh" school, a preparatory college for the Civil Service. This watchfulness for the education of the people, when all the powers of the State were absorbed by the great struggle of 1877-78, was conceived in the same spirit as the policy of the Prussian Monarchy after Jena, and which set free the German Fatherland from the Napoleonic oppression.

The "Mulkieh" school contained at first five classes, three lower and two higher, in which Turkish and French, Mathematics, Natural Science, Geography, General and

Ottoman History, Political Economy, International Law, Civil and Administrative Laws, and Finances, besides some other sciences, were taught to the pupils, who were destined to occupy the posts of Sub-governors, Vice-Consuls, Secretaries of Legation and Embassy, Auditors to the Council of State, etc. At the present time more than two hundred "Mulkieh" scholars might be named, who, having finished their studies, have been admitted to different State functions, and some of whom occupy exalted positions. Even in the Palace many dignitaries owe their position to qualifications which they had acquired as students of this college, and they have always been subject to special regard from His Imperial Majesty, who took the school under his high protection from its foundation. Afterwards some changes advantageous to the school were introduced, such as the addition of the Arabic and Persian languages, and the compulsory study of Greek and Armenian, for at least five scholars in each class, a very intelligent and useful measure, due solely to the initiative of His Majesty. These and other improvements necessitated the creation of two other classes, one higher and the other lower. It is hardly necessary to state that this school is open to all Ottoman subjects, without any distinction of religion or race.

His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid has shown equal thoughtfulness for the legal profession, by founding a Law School in the capital. This school has four classes, and the scholars who are successful in the examinations are received, after a short course in the Tribunals, as Assistant Judges in the first instance, Deputy Procurators-General, Judges of Instruction, Presidents of the Provincial Courts of First Instance, and are also allowed to exercise the profession of advocates.

This Law School is a most important institution, and is of great use in raising the moral standing and professional knowledge of the Turkish magistracy.

Another preparatory school in the style of the lower



classes of "Mulkieh," a special school for the blind and the dumb, a school for the Fine Arts, for "Mines and Forests," special classes for Civil Engineers joined to the Artillery College, special classes for Merchant Captains joined to the Naval School, Agricultural schools in Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonika, and Brussa, with model farms, two Trade schools for poor girls in Constantinople, and several similar institutions, are samples of the Imperial activity, proving how much care H.I.M. takes to advance the moral and material well-being of his subjects.

The limits of a summary do not permit of a full description of these very interesting institutions. I hope to have the opportunity to give further details in a future article on Turkish Progress; but I cannot leave this subject without a few words on the firm basis that has been laid for the diffusion of instruction in the vast Ottoman Dominion. To start with, funds were necessary for such a serious work; and H.I.M. found two sources of revenue of such a nature that, growing and increasing by themselves, there is no further need for Government subsidies on behalf of public instruction.

These sources of revenue are: 1st, The pious foundations (Evkaf) whose maintenance is no more necessary; as for example, the endowments for the maintenance of a mosque that is no more in existence, etc. The basis of such endowments being real estate, this revenue is capable of great expansion, landed property at the present time being at its very lowest value in most parts of the Empire. 2nd, The third part of the 15 per cent. by which the tithe has been increased. This revenue is also of an expansive nature, as is seen by the increase of the State revenues wherever railways have been constructed and pushed on into the interior of the country.

With the new income the Department of Public Instruction was able to endow many chief towns of the provinces and Livas (a subdivision of the province) with a preparatory school, where Mahommedans and non-Mahommedans

are admitted on perfectly equal terms. Their numbers continue to increase. As to primary education, it is difficult to say exactly the number of the schools founded ; but it is estimated that, with those enumerated, 2000 schools with far more than 100,000 pupils, have been instituted in the sixteen years of His Majesty's reign.

Reforms effected in the Turkish administration since the promulgation of the "Tanzimat" (reforms) by the Sultan 'Abdul Mejid, and especially during the benevolent and intelligent reign of the present Sultan, are too evident and visible to need any demonstration. Under the "Tanzimat," not only the Ottoman Government, but also Ottoman society underwent a complete change ; and in a comparatively short time Turkey, excluded until then from European public life, acquired a dignified position among civilized nations. This spirit of essential reform exhibited by 'Abdul Mejid has found a zealous supporter in his august son, and changes have been realized which can be compared only to the work of Peter the Great, which it may be considered they have surpassed, owing to their sincerity and the profound influence they have had on the mass of the people.

Turkey has always distinguished itself by its religious tolerance and mild treatment of conquered nations. When the massacre of St. Bartholomew was considered a pious act, and in every part of Europe "*autos-da-fé*" were thought the best safeguard of religion, the ancestors of His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid thought it a sovereign duty to assure by edicts and charters, the free exercise of the different religions in Turkey, and grant to the non-Mussulman communities these privileges, which, it is true, tend to form States within States, but which establish also an admirable equilibrium between the different nationalities which lie in perfect peace under the Ottoman sceptre.

"Tanzimat" and the subsequent special laws regulated the constitution of the non-Mussulman communities ; and everybody knows now that His Majesty the present Sultan

has always been the great protector and partisan of this tolerant policy. I do not enlarge upon facts which ought to be universally known and appreciated, and which do the greatest honour to the wise and merciful sovereign who knows how to be the true father of his people.

The civil equality enjoyed by non-Mussulmans since the foundation of the Empire has been extended to political matters also. It can be said with truth that Turkey is one of the few States where religious differences are not considered as obstacles to the perfect political equality of the citizens. After the "Tanzimat" this equality was more conspicuous. Non-Mussulmans not only kept and extended their ancient privileges, making their condition in some respects superior even to those of the Mahommedans; but they gained also all the rights proper to a dominating faction. They are received in civil functions, where from the beginning many of them attained exalted positions, such as those of Secretary of State, Director-General, Under Secretary of State, Governor-General, Ambassador, etc. If they are exempt from military service and are obliged instead of it to pay the Government a small sum, totally disproportionate to the blood tax imposed upon the Mussulman people of the Empire, that is a defect the burden of which is felt only by the latter, and the non-Mussulman, get nothing but profit from it. Notwithstanding this ineligibility, the Military Medical College is open to all classes of Ottoman subjects, there are many non-Mussulman military doctors and surgeons in the army, and they are completely in the same position as their Mussulman colleagues.

The councils of the Empire are mixed assemblies, where all classes of Ottoman subjects are represented. The Council of State contains many members of different religious communities, and in the "Idareh" (administrative) councils of provinces, Livas and Cazas, the half of the elected members must by law always belong to the non-Mussulman communities of these localities. As the dif-

ferent religious chiefs of the same are natural members of these councils, it happens many times that against a Sheri' judge and mufti there are four or five spiritual chiefs of non-Mussulman people, which, although in minority in the province, acquire a predominant voice in the administrative councils. That is an interesting organization not well known in Europe, which by its liberality rivals the most perfect systems of provincial administration. Except Crete and Samos, in every part of the Ottoman Empire the Mussulman population is in a great majority, and even in the Macedonian and other similar districts more than half of the inhabitants are Mahommedans. For this reason the present organization of the provincial administration is totally advantageous to the non-Mussulman communities ; and in Crete and Samos special laws insure a majority in councils to the Greek population.

The administration of justice in Turkey has also improved very much during the last three reigns. Before the reforms, Turkey had only "Sheri'" tribunals ; these were charged with all kinds of jurisdiction, civil, penal, and commercial, but being at the same time affected by the religious matters of the Mussulman communities, judges were naturally of the "Ulema" class, and non-Mussulman as well as Mahommedan civilians were excluded from the magistracy. The procedure then used was rather summary, and sometimes did not suffice for the requirements of modern needs, and some necessary legal arrangements were totally wanting, especially those in connection with commerce.

A complete organization of the Department of Justice was felt necessary to establish a perfect equality with the non-Mussulman subjects of the Empire and to satisfy the want of existing laws in connection with modern requirements. First the Government began with the penal law, adopting a law nearly derived from the French Code pénal, and creating everywhere correctional and criminal Courts totally independent of the Religious Department. Afterwards Commercial Laws, derived also from the French

"Code de Commerce" and "Code de Commerce Maritime," were adopted, and commercial tribunals were instituted. With the publication of the "Mejelleh" by a special commission composed of the most eminent jurists of the Empire, the matters of the civil law also had been committed to the care of newly instituted civil tribunals, and the Sheri' tribunals remained, with their attributes, as regard marriage, divorce, succession, wills, etc., which are considered in Turkey as coming under Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in this quality left in what concerns the non-Mussulmans to their respective patriarchates and community councils. Under the reign of 'Abdul 'Aziz, the new penal, commercial, and civil tribunals divided into Courts of First Instance, Appeal and Cassation, jurisdiction was committed to the charge of the newly-created Ministry of Justice, and the magistracy became an open career for all the citizens of the Ottoman dominions.

The reign of His Majesty the Sultan 'Abdul Hamid has witnessed the most effective improvements in this respect. The re-organization of Provincial Tribunals, the nomination of Procurators- and Advocates-General, the establishment of a regular system of advancement for judges, and a firm guarantee insuring their trustworthiness and impartiality, the institution of Criminal and Civil procedures, are samples of this reforming policy applied to the administration of justice, besides the creation of a Law School destined to furnish the Department of Justice with able and well-instructed functionaries.

The re-organization of the Police took place during this reign, which has witnessed so many acts for the welfare of the Ottoman people. The ancient confusion between the duties of the police, gendarmerie and department of penal jurisdiction ceased, and the gendarmerie as an armed force being attached to the War Department, the Ministry of Police remained with its essential attributes with regard to public safety. Much has been and is still being said about the insecurity prevailing in Turkey. It is, however, never men-

tioned that Constantinople is one of the great cities of the world where the number of committed crimes is relatively very small, and that the Ottoman provinces, if we pay regard to their great extent, and their sparse population, can also be considered very safe. The average rate of crime in London and Paris is much above that of Constantinople, and the few cases of brigandage which created such a disturbance in the European Press are as nothing compared to what occurs in the United States, or in other countries which as regards scarcity of population and other circumstances are situated similarly to Turkey.

The great financial improvement effectually realized during the present reign need hardly be pointed out. Everyone knows what immense progress Turkish finance has made during late years. When His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid ascended the throne of his fathers Turkey was a bankrupt State, her sources of revenue were altered and the dangers of a great war threatened the country. This war soon broke out and undermined still more these sources by wresting from Turkey many fertile and productive provinces as the price of peace, and creating a new debt of thirty million pounds, besides obliging the Ottoman Treasury to pay Russia an enormous war indemnity. The case was desperate, and a really firm hand was needed to change a state of things apparently without any possible hope of improvement. Everybody knows what His Majesty did in this emergency. The debts of the Empire were classed under various heads and reduced to an amount in accordance with equity and without usury ; an administration totally in European hands and comprising the delegates of the Ottoman bondholders was instituted and charged with paying off the mortgages and interests of this debt ; different revenues of the Empire were assigned to this administration of the Public Debt, and the Turkish Government acted in this transaction with so much good faith, that Turkey replaced the annual tribute that Bulgaria owes to the sovereign Treasury according to the Berlin

Treaty, being included among the ceded revenues, by a part of the Customs revenue, and did not attempt to damage her creditors in spite of all the fault being on the side of their respective Governments. Now Turkish bonds are among the most secure in Europe, and Turkey can borrow money at 5 per cent. interest when in former times it could not do so at the rate of 12 per cent. The actual consolidated and other debts of the Empire, which amount to a capital of one hundred and ten million pounds, are comparatively small, and with the present system of mortgage will be totally paid in a short space of time.

Since the accession of his Majesty many heavy taxes have been abolished or diminished, and in spite of this the general revenues of the Empire show a remarkable tendency to increase. The receipts, which fell after the war to nearly eleven million pounds, now reach sixteen millions, and in spite of the extraordinary expenses caused by the adoption of a new style of rifle, and the completing of all the war material and the execution of the military reorganization, the Treasury Department has paid many of its old debts. For example, the annuities of the war indemnity, a sum of £350,000, are now punctually paid, and in the present unfavourable state of Russian finance, that is an important sum on which Russians can rely with confidence.

This improvement in finances is the natural consequence of the general prosperity which begins to prevail in Turkey. Means of communication have been considerably increased during the present reign. The junction of the Ottoman, Bulgarian, and Servian railways, by the construction of the two lines from Bellowa to Vakarel, and from Uskub to Vrania, has put the two great ports of Constantinople and Salonika in direct communication with Europe. A line from Salonika to Monastir is in course of construction, which will form an easy mode of transport for the products of Albania, and which, with its branches, will reach the shores of the Adriatic. The projected Dedeh-Agach-Salonika line will benefit a country as large as Belgium with the blessings of a rapid and easy means of transport

and communication. In Asia Minor, the Smyrna-Cassaba and Smyrna-Aidin lines, two very important English enterprises, have been most successful, and with new branches more than doubled. A line from Ismid to Angora is in course of construction, and will at no distant period be completed. A small line from Mudania to Brussa also is in course of construction, and a concession has been granted for a line from the shore of the Sea of Marmara to Iconium (Coniat), and the construction of several other very interesting railway lines is projected. A small line from the port of Messina to Adana promises, if extended, to be a great source of prosperity to the southern and central parts of Asia Minor.

In Syria the Jaffa-Jerusalem line is in course of construction; a steam tramway line from Beyrout to Damascus and Hauran will soon be commenced, and an English company has recently obtained the concession for the Syrian railways of the Acka-Damascus-Hauran-Haïfa regions. Besides these railway lines, many thousand kilometres of paved roads have been finished, and are a great aid to communication.

His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid has granted many other useful concessions to European capitalists, as for example, those of the waterworks, quays, and gas-lighting of Constantinople, the quays of Beyrout, the tramways of Damascus and other towns, the irrigation of plains, the drainage of marshes, the establishment of factories and manufactures.

All these factors have naturally greatly benefited commerce and agriculture, which will in time be a great source of wealth to the Ottoman people. The import and export trade of Turkey is increasing in a remarkable manner. The tonnage of the ships anchored in the harbours, and the returns of the Custom House are the best proofs of the increase of the national wealth under the present reign; but another is also to be seen in the enormous increase in the value of land in the commercial cities of the Empire. The Ottoman Government does its best to improve agriculture, and the creation of model farms, besides the foundation of an Agricultural Bank, have done much to



enable the peasants to obtain the necessary knowledge and capital. I hope in a future article to be able to quote figures that will prove more eloquent than all the systematic detractions of Turkey's interested enemies.

The fighting resources of Turkey, completely disorganized after the last Russian War, have not escaped the all-reforming vigilance of His Majesty the Sultan, whose first attention was given to the Army and Navy; the Turkish fleet has been strengthened by the addition of a great number of torpedo-boats. The army has been reorganized on the Prussian system, the best known; the stock of artillery, greatly diminished by the war, has been replenished by the acquisition of hundreds of new Krupp and Canet guns, and a new magazine rifle has been adopted. Now Turkey is able to place 500,000 well-equipped soldiers under arms, besides the Kurd Cavalry which is being organized, and will prove a large auxiliary force. Every year Turkey is sending officers and civilians to different European countries to acquire experience and perfect themselves in their respective branches, and those, on their return, are always named to such posts as will enable them to make the most profitable use of their knowledge.

Everybody who investigates the actual conditions of Turkey in an impartial spirit will see that this country is in a period of transition and development. What it needs is peace; peace, for the maintenance of which His Majesty 'Abdul Hamid has made such signal efforts and sacrifices, benefiting by this, not only his own country, but also nearly all European nations. This is one of the merits of this truly great sovereign, and there is no doubt that impartial history will take account of it. As to Turkey, we must only say that in every respect it is not an insignificant quantity in the general economy of Europe, and its claims to be ranked as a great and progressive Power are more serious than many partial judges are inclined to admit.

IBRAHIM HAKKI.

## NOTES ON THE DISCOVERY OF MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED ANCIENT ARTIFICIAL CAVES NEAR TŌKYŌ.

BY SHOGORO TSUBOI, (RIGAKUSHI).

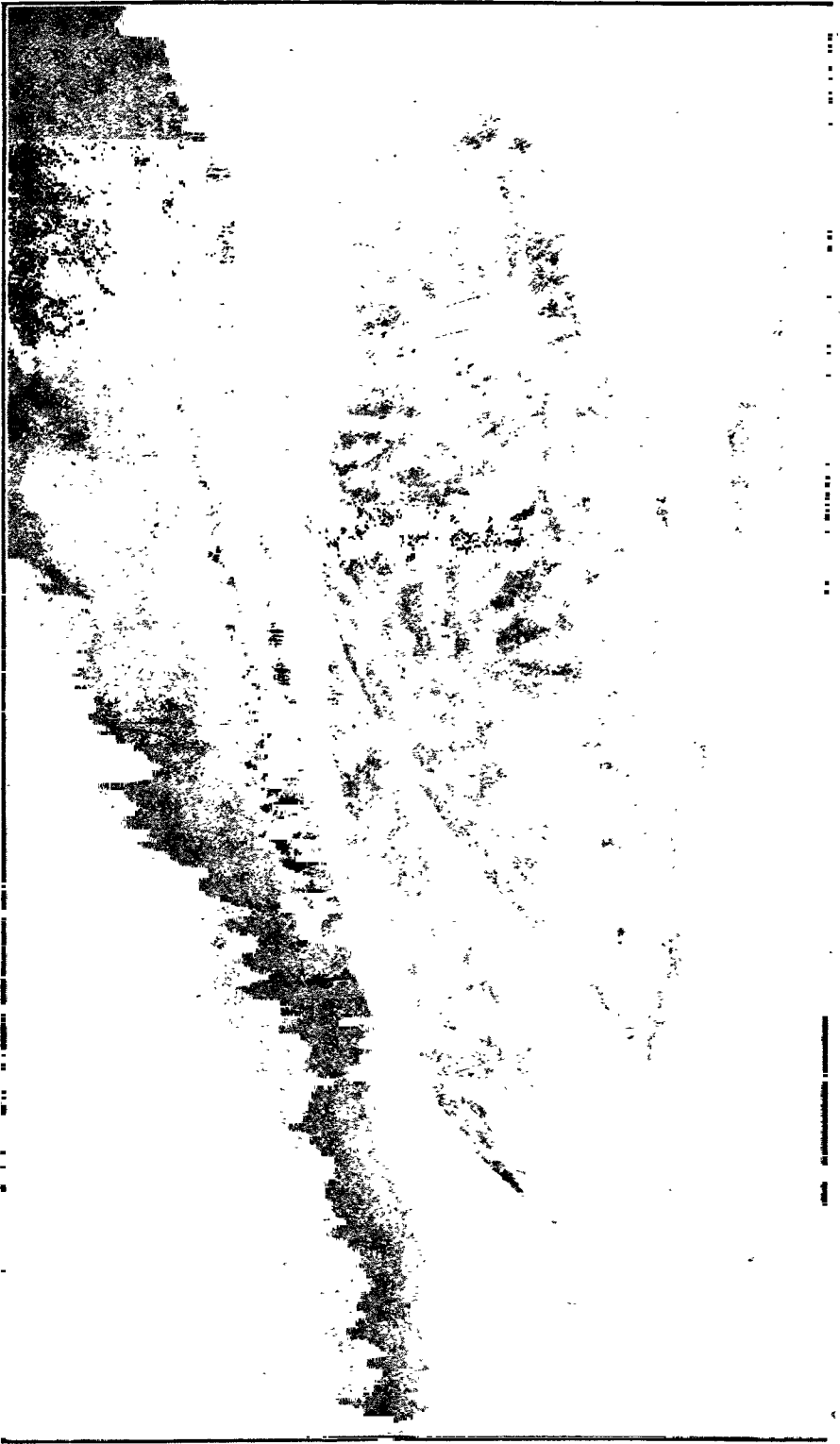
IN the summer of 1887, I visited a village called Kita-Yoshimi (now called Nishi-Yoshimi), about 30 miles north-west of Tōkyō, in order to re-examine some ancient artificial caves I had already seen a few years before. As their number did not exceed 20, their sketches and measurements were easily taken, in less time than I expected. I spent my remaining time in examining the position and arrangement of the caves. I was inclined to think, by comparing them with those of similar caves in other parts of Japan, that more caves must still be hidden beneath the surface-earth of the hill, on which the ones already known were scattered irregularly. In one place, two or three caves were seen side by side; in another, three or four were found with definite distances between them; while isolated ones were not wanting. Though I could not positively declare that there must be more caves to fill up the spaces between those already exposed, yet probability and analogy compelled me to make special researches.

The place had already been visited by many archæologists, both Japanese and foreign: among the former, by Messrs. K. Kashiwagi, O. Ucheyama, and T. Negishi, and among the latter, by Professor E. S. Morse and Mr. Henry von Siebold. Most likely, these learned persons also had thought, as I have just stated, that I did: but circumstances prevented them from determining the matter personally. Thus the interesting work fell into my hands. With the permission of the owners of the land, workmen were hired, and were set, under my orders, to dig out the trees and shrubs, and remove the surface-earth from spots giving some indications of yet undiscovered caves. My

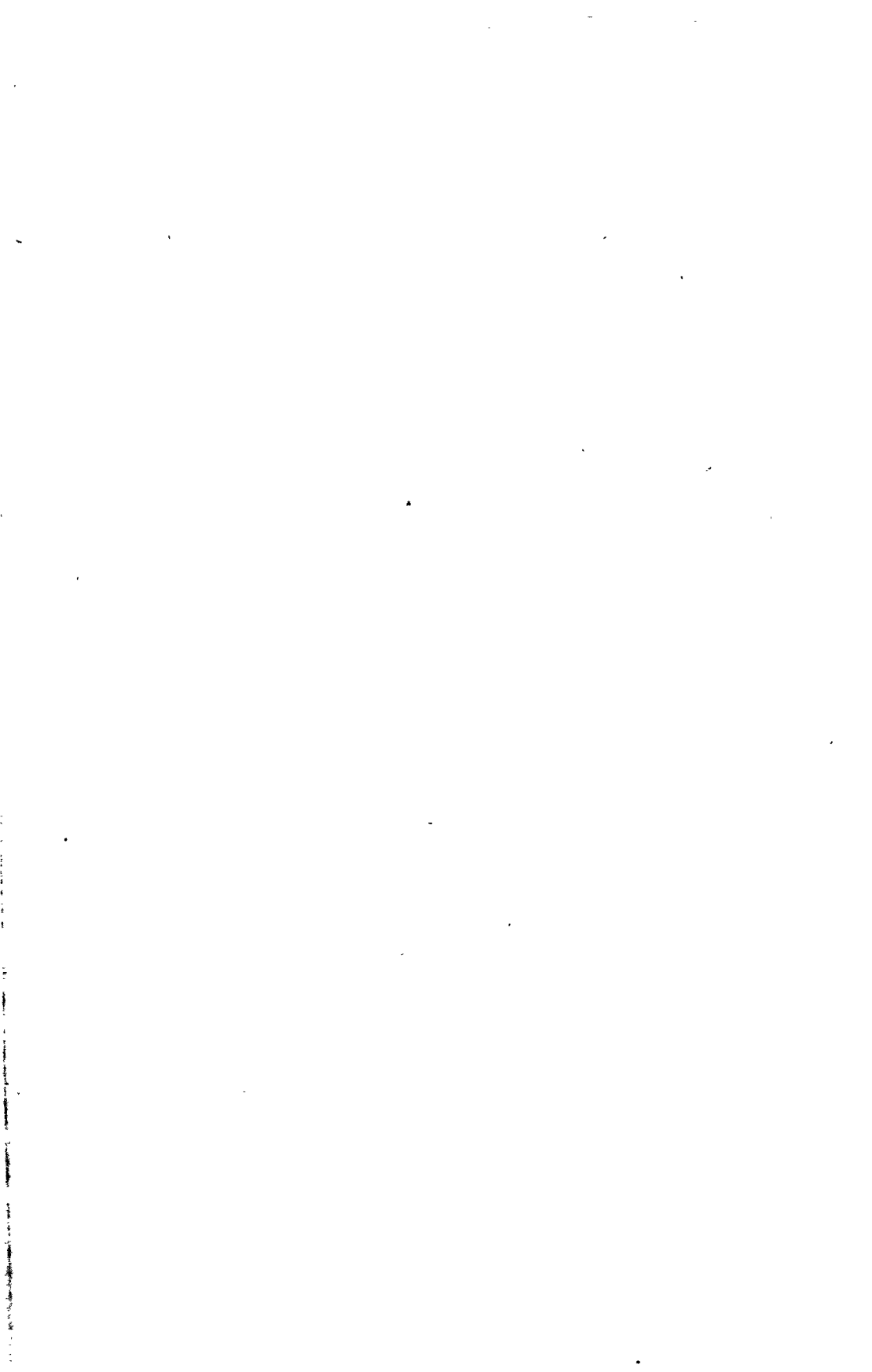
anticipations turned out correct. To our great satisfaction the entrances of several caves were soon found. This was on the 6th of August. I thereupon changed my original plan, and resolved to stay longer and to make further researches.

The hill itself is of greyish tufaceous sandstone ; and the surface earth is blackish soil ; so it is easy to distinguish one from the other. By removing the earth, that filled the newly found entrances, chambers were discovered similar to those in the already known caves, though with some differences in detail. The excitement of the workmen was very great. Love of money and curiosity added vigour to their arms, and one cave after another was found in rapid succession. Hidden caves were sought, at first, only in spaces between two known caves, whose distance seemed to be somewhat greater than that between other caves placed side by side ; but the horizontal spreading of the roots of trees, and the hollow sound produced by heavy stamping of feet, soon suggested the probable existence of many others.

After making sure that the research would be fruitful, I reported the matter to the Imperial University of Japan, and asked pecuniary assistance, to complete the discovery. My hopes were fulfilled ; and the necessary sum of money was put at my disposal. I increased the number of workmen, and ordered them to uncover a portion of the hill, from its top down to its foot, by removing the surface-earth, together with the plants growing in it. We seemed no longer searching for caves ; but the caves might be said to show themselves of their own accord. When the part of the hill was thus entirely denuded, a great number of caves were exposed to view. Before my research, the number of caves known was, as I said, not more than 20 ; but now the number came up to 237. The aspect of this part of the hill was totally changed. Formerly, like other parts of the hill, this also was thickly covered with trees, shrubs, ferns and grasses, and only a few caves could be seen from a distance of 20 metres from the foot of the hill. Now, the exposed part is nothing but a huge block of tufaceous sand-



- GENERAL VIEW OF THE HILL.



stone, thickly covered with caves, readily distinguishable even at the distance of half a mile.

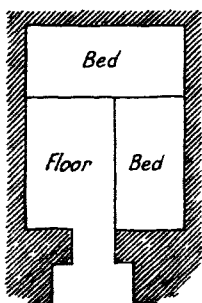
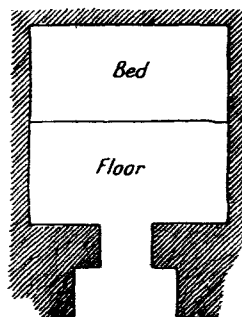
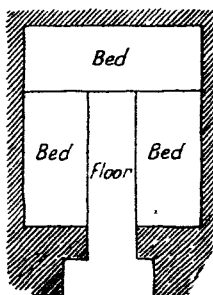
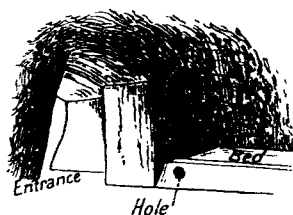
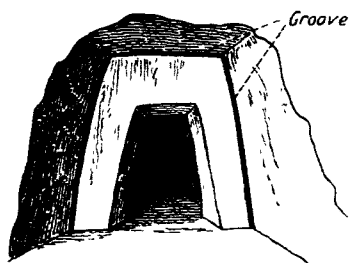
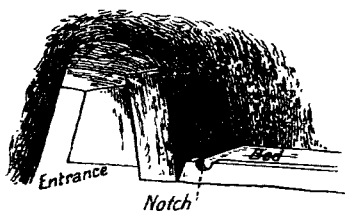
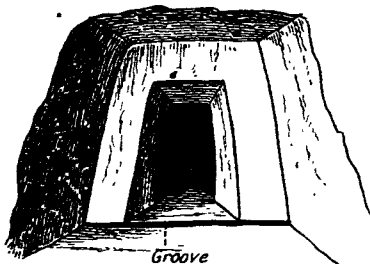
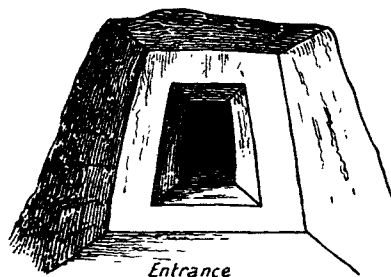
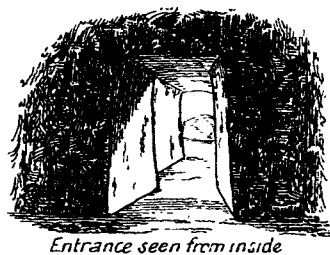
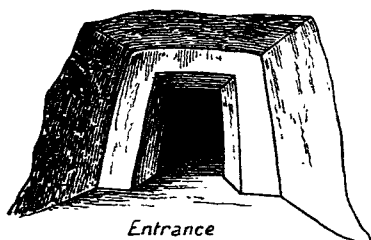
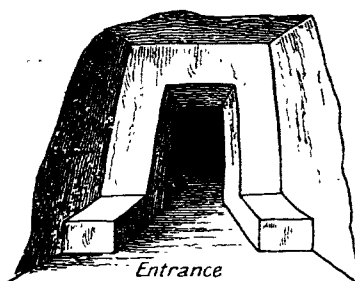
As the sloping surface of the hill is uneven, the openings to the caves are not always quite distinct. In many cases; they turn inwards insensibly, to form the sides of the passage-ways that connect the chambers with the exterior. A passage-way consists of two portions, inner and outer. In general, the outer portion is one metre in height, width and length; and its floor gradually rises towards the inner passage-way. The roof and side walls of that portion are either flat or slightly concave. Generally, the former is horizontal, and the latter converging upwards. The vertical section through them, therefore, is somewhat like the lower half of the capital letter A. In rare cases, the roof of this portion is again divided into two parts of different levels, the inner part being placed about 10 c.m. below the outer.

The inward courses of the roof and the side walls of the outer portion of the passage-way are abruptly stopped by a sort of diaphragm. This forms the inner portion of the passage-way. Here, the roof is about 15 c.m. lower, and the side walls are also about 15 c.m. nearer the long axial line of both these passage-ways. Generally, the floor of the inner portion is continuous with that of the outer; but in some cases, the former is about 15 c.m. higher than the latter. At the junction of the two portions, in the direction of the front face of the diaphragm, is found a groove on the floor, or grooves on the side walls and the roof, apparently intended for keeping some kind of doors in their places. In some cases again, at the foot of a diaphragm, along each side wall of the outer portion of the passage-way, is found a projection of about 30 c.m. long, and 15 c.m. high, with a width equal to the distance between the walls of the same side of the two portions. The thickness of the diaphragm, or the length of the inner portion, is generally one metre, or but little less.

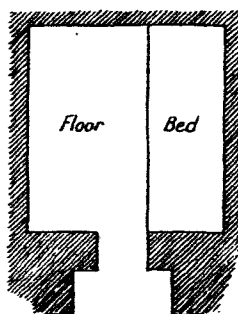
By going into the passage-way with our bodies bent,

we enter a chamber which widens on both sides, either equally or unequally, and whose roof is, more or less, higher than that of the passage-way. As light comes only from the entrance, through the narrow and low passage-way, the interior of the chamber at first is very dark. Yet, after a while, the floor, the back and side walls, the roof and the front wall gradually begin to be dimly seen. The eye, accustomed to the weak light after a few minutes' stay, enables us to recognize even rudely scratched lines on a wall. The finished chambers are rectangular in their plans. They are generally 2 m. or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. square, though larger ones are by no means rare. I say finished chambers, because there are many which seem to have been left unfinished. These are irregular in form and rough in execution. Leaving a description of these unfinished chambers for a subsequent part of this paper, I will here speak only of the finished ones. The roof of the chamber forms a dome, the apex of which is little less than 2 m. distant from the floor. Except in one case, there exists no precise demarcation between it and the walls below. Even in this exception, the demarcation is but partial, being found only at the upper part of the back wall. The surface of the dome is generally plain, but in some cases lines are drawn from the four corners towards the apex, presenting the appearance of a continuation of the dihedral angles formed by the meeting of each of the two neighbouring walls below. In one case, at the middle of the dome is found a rectangular depression 40 c.m. wide,  $1\frac{1}{3}$  m. long and about 2 c.m. deep. Into the walls of some caves are cut shelves of different descriptions and holes of varying depth. The latter constructions seem to have been intended for receiving the ends of horizontal poles; for two holes are always found at the corresponding points on the opposite walls, generally about  $1\frac{1}{3}$  m. above the floor.

In general, the floor of the chamber is continuous with that of the inner portion of the passage-way; but in some cases the former is about 15 c.m. higher than the latter;

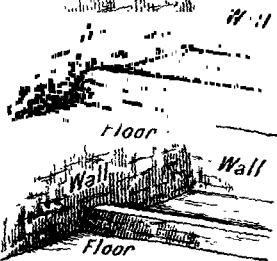
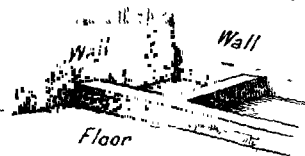
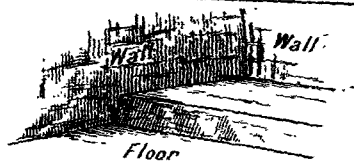
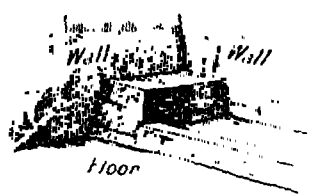


Arrangement of Beds (B)

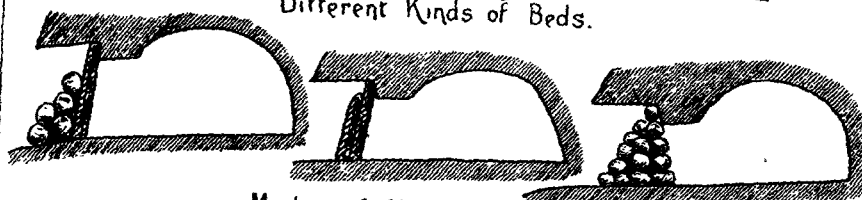


Arrangement of Beds (A)

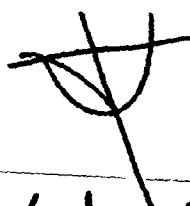
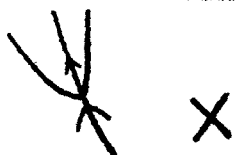
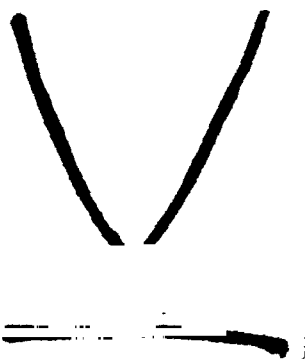
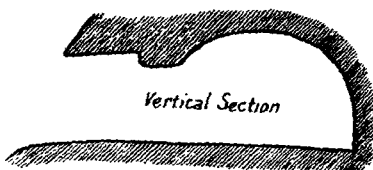
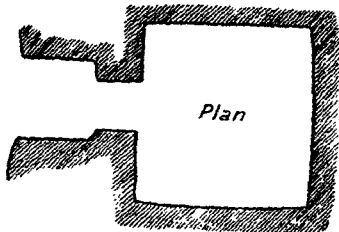




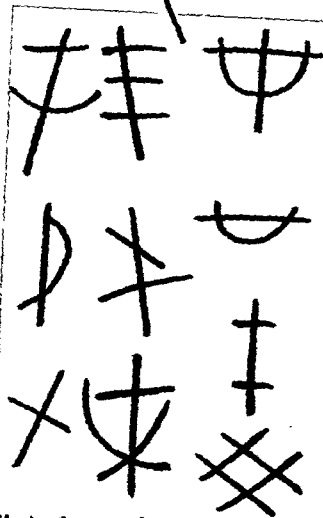
Different Kinds of Beds.



Modes of Closing Entrances.



Natural Size  
of one of the figures  
on the side wall



Figures found on the side wall  
of the passage-way of a cave. (Nishi-Yoshimi, Japan)

Marks found on "Iwaibe" Potteries.

and in rarer cases, the floor of the inner portion of the passage-way is raised about 10 c.m. above that of the chamber and the outer portion, as if a rock of that thickness had been placed over the floor, which is continuous throughout the passage-way and the chamber. Like that of the passage-way, the floor of the chamber inclines upwards towards the back wall. It rarely extends throughout a chamber as one plane, for almost all the chambers are provided with one, two, or three bed-like constructions. The number of these varies according to the size of the chambers, or I had better say that a chamber varies in size according to the number of the bed-like constructions, to contain which, probably, it was originally excavated. This construction, which, for the sake of brevity, I will hereafter call a bed, is always placed along a wall. In general, a bed is about 2 m. long, 1 m. wide, and 15 c.m. high. It has often a vertical rim of about 15 c.m. in width and 15 c.m. or more in height, along its free margin; and in rare cases such a rim is raised directly from the floor, forming the space between it and the nearer wall, like that of the upper part of a rimmed bed. In a few cases, a bed has a rectangular elevation at one end along a wall. Its width is the same as that of the bed on which it is formed; its height is about 30 c.m.; and the distance between its free margin and the wall, measured in the direction of the length of the bed, is also about 30 c.m. In one case, a kind of bed, marked only by a raised rim on the floor, is divided unequally by a secondary rim placed at right angles to the principal one.

When there is only one bed in a chamber, its position is either along a side or a back wall. When a chamber has two beds, the latter may be found either along two side walls, or one along a side wall and the other along the back wall. For three beds in a chamber, there is but one way of arrangement. They are placed along the back and two side walls, in such a manner that their free margins, together, present the form of the Greek letter  $\Pi$ . A rim

of a bed is often notched and only rarely pierced through, close to its one extremity, apparently for the purpose of sweeping out dust or letting out water. Sometimes a chamber or a passage-way has a system of furrows either along the foot of the walls or along the median line, undoubtedly intended for carrying off moisture and keeping the chamber dry. All the projections and elevations, above mentioned, are made not by putting separate pieces of stones on the spots, but by leaving the rocks of those parts uncut. Thus every cave, with its passage-way and chamber together with all their details, is cut out in one block; and consequently the whole group of the caves also may be said to be in one block.

Many caves are often so close to one another that the thickness of the partition wall of neighbouring ones, or the distance of the floor of the upper and the roof of the lower one, is hardly 30 c.m.; but there are only three cases in which any internal communication exists between two finished caves. In one of these cases, a hole of the size of a man's foot, is found passing vertically from the floor of the passage-way of a cave above to the ceiling of the chamber of a cave below; this hole seems to have been made by an accidental breaking of that portion of the partition. In another case, a hole passes obliquely from the foot of the side wall of the upper chamber to the connecting portion of the ceiling and the side wall of the lower. This hole, which seems to have been made accidentally, and enlarged artificially, is just wide enough for an ordinary man to crawl through on all fours. The smoothness and polish of the surfaces of this hole, especially at the lower part, show that it must have been touched and rubbed with the hands for a considerable time. In the third case, a round hole, about 30 c.m. in diameter, passes horizontally through the partition wall of two neighbouring chambers. From its direction and execution, we may safely say that this hole was bored artificially and purposely. Excepting these cases, each cave is independent of the other.

As the slope of the hill faces more to south and west, the entrances of the caves, the direction of which naturally vary according to that of the slope on which they are found, face mostly to south, south-west, and west. As I said before, the surface of the hill was formerly covered with earth, the thickness of which was in general greater towards the foot of the hill. The earth-covering not only closed the entrances of the caves, but often completely filled up the passage-ways, and even the chambers, to four-fifths of their height. Many chambers were found to contain rain-water, with a sediment of mud at its bottom. From this it will be seen that the entrances of the caves may have been closed with earth, under the combined action of rain and gravity. Besides these natural modes of closing, there are some artificial ones. Thus the passage to the chamber was often found to be cut off at the front end of the inner portion of the passage-way by a pile of round stones, or by one or more layers of slabs, or again by a combination of both, the former being placed before the latter. These slabs, when found, were always attached to the front face of a diaphragm, their margins being often fitted into the grooves, to which I have already alluded. In rare cases blocks of stones, specially hewn to size, were found lying at the foot of the front face of the diaphragm, and on some of these stones grooves were found for receiving the lower margins of the slabs. In many caves, the artificial closing of a chamber was incomplete, presenting the appearance of a partial removal of the stones, especially of the upper part. Very probably such caves were twice shut and twice opened; that is to say, they were at first completely shut artificially, then partially opened, again completely shut naturally, and at last completely laid bare again by us.

One of the most interesting events during the research, was the accidental discovery of a group of marks cut into the rock. One day, while sitting in a cave with my back to the side wall of the inner passage-way, the chamber being on my right side and the entrance on my left, I noticed a

peculiar spreading of the fibrous roots of some plants on the side wall which I was facing. No sooner had I taken hold of and pulled off these fibres, than the depressed lines, along which they had grown, became visible. After rubbing off the earth and removing the roots carefully, the side wall was found to be covered with several depressed figures, of which seven were very distinct. They are about 3 m.m. deep, and their forms, sizes and arrangements are as represented in the annexed plate. As the cave, on whose side wall these figures are to be seen, was found partially closed with a pile of round stones, some figures—at least the lower ones—must have been covered by the pile of stones. The space left unclosed was only large enough for a man to crawl in and out; so the figures, found on the upper part of the side wall, can also hardly be said to have been executed after the pile was made. Thus there seems to be no doubt of the ancient origin of these figures. By referring to the plate, it will be seen that all the seven figures are more or less bilaterally symmetrical; and the five larger ones have each a median vertical line and a pair of branches curved upwards. It is hard to believe that these figures are nothing but a thoughtless combination of lines drawn at random. As it would be absurd to say that they have some relations with Roman characters, because there is among them an X, so also would it be, to suppose them to be of Japanese or Chinese origin, because two figures resemble *na* (ナ) and *ki* (キ) of the former, or *ju* (十) and *sen* (十) of the latter. Nor are they either the Loochoo numerals or the Korean characters. What seem to approach nearest to these figures are the marks often found on the ancient Japanese unglazed pottery called *Iwaibe*. Here is a collection of some of them. By comparing these marks with the figures found on the wall, the general resemblance between them will readily be recognized. The pottery marks are probably the personal marks of the potters, and I think that the figures in question are also the personal marks of the ancient cave-makers. In

another cave, rude drawings of two men and a quadruped were found on the front wall of its chamber, just above the inner extremity of the passage-way ; but as I have neither sketches nor descriptions of them at hand, I am now unable to say any more about them.

Besides well-executed and finished caves, which I have hitherto described, there are many rough and apparently unfinished ones. Careful examination of the latter shows that their size is smaller, their execution rougher, and their form more irregular. This fact, together with the presence of rough shelf-like depressions outside the caves, and the traces of simple diggings made into the surface of the slope, led me to believe that these excavations are caves in different stages of execution. The cutting process of a passage-way, the gradual differentiation of walls from a ceiling and a floor, and the formation of a bed being traced, I have succeeded in connecting a horizontal group of a few holes, not deeper than 18 c.m. with an ordinary finished cave of 2m. square, by an unbroken series of unfinished caves. The existence of these unfinished caves may be accounted for in two ways. The first is the unskilfulness of the ancients in surveying. In some cases a smaller and more roughly made cave is found, so close to a larger and better made one, that the former more or less overlaps the latter, producing a small opening that connects one cave with the other. It is very probable that the ancient maker of the new cave stopped his work on finding that the space to which the digging was to be extended had already been occupied by a previously made cave. The second is the nature of the rock of the hill, which I have already mentioned to be a sandstone. To dig a cave into this must have been a very tedious work. The longer the time required in completing a cave, the greater is the probability that the action of many causes would prevent the completion of the work. It is, therefore, not to be wondered that there should be many unfinished caves on a hill of such hard stone. We must admit, then, that several

of the excavations which I have mentioned are caves in different stages of execution.

By examining the traces of the diggings, the forms of at least the edges of the implements used may be known. The implement first used seems to have been a pointed chisel, at least 20 c.m. long, perhaps driven in by means of a hammer; that used next seems to have been a straight-edged adze; and that used for the finishing touches to have been most probably an adze curved outwards and a comb-like instrument, both used in the manner of a plane. Not only the hardness of the rock, but also the traces of digging and finishing, show that the ancient cave-makers were undoubtedly acquainted with the use of some metallic implements.

The general forward continuation of the floor of the passage-way, and also in some cases that of the furrows upon it, show that the rock of the hill, at least at the front portions of the caves, was bare at the time when the caves were first made. The traces of steps, or rather of alternate series of foot holders, cut into the rock and apparently of the same age as the caves, are visible here and there. The presence of such traces leads me to think that not only the front portions of the caves, but the entire surface of the hill, where the caves are found, was originally bare. When the covering soil was removed, the rock was found so worn out as to make it utterly impossible to reach some of the caves by walking. But it is highly probable that before the edges had been rounded and the projections broken by the long-continued action of the weather, the surface of the hill must have had many more almost level portions than at present; and the few steps which only can now be seen must have existed in many more steep portions of the hill. These considerations clear away the doubt, how the ancients could have walked on such an uncomfortable hill slope as this appears to us at present.

Several objects of different ages were found in the caves. Among these finds are a few pieces of *Kwan-yei-tsū-hō*,



UPPER PORTION OF THE HILL.

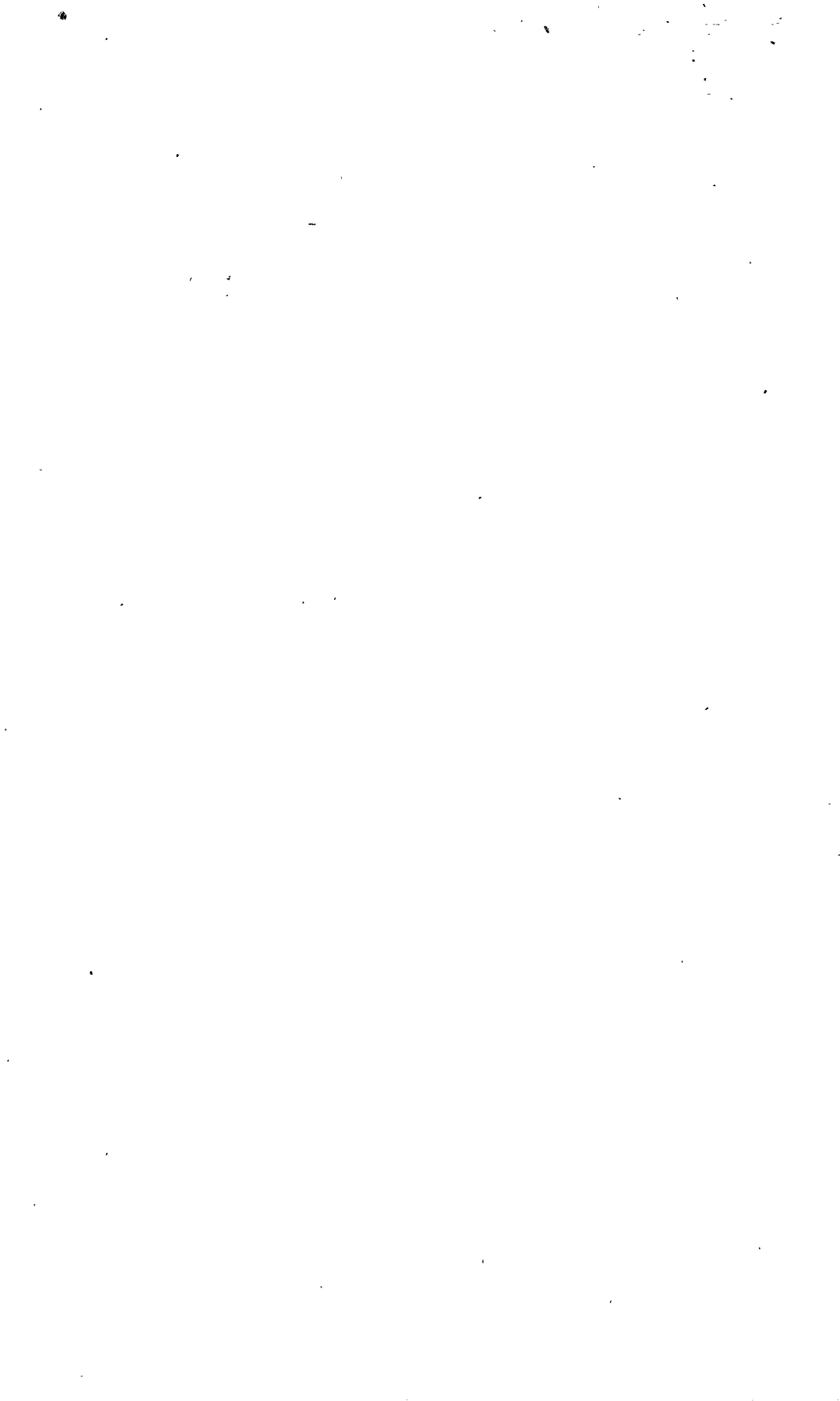
S. TSUBOI.



MIDDLE PORTION OF THE HILL.

S. TSUBOI STANDING NEAR AN UNFINISHED CAVE.





a small Japanese coin, and a piece of *Tenki-tsū-hō*, a Chinese coin of exactly the same size. But as the latter coins are, in rare cases, mixed with the former, which are still in current use among the Japanese, the presence of either does not tell much about the age of the caves. The brass bowl of a tobacco pipe and the bronze disc of a hand-mirror are also among the objects found. Careful examination shows that the former is about 250 years, and the latter 600 years old; but the caves are undoubtedly older than both. Unglazed pottery, known as *Iwaibe* and of greater antiquity than the objects mentioned above were also found. Their positions were generally outside the slabs or stone piles; but in a few cases, also inside of them. The fact that the *Iwaibe* potteries were found in those two positions, shows that the artificial closing of the chambers with stones and the deposition of the potteries in the caves belong to the same age. Two *Maga-tama*, or curved jewels, made of agate, one *Kuda-tama*, or tubular jewel, made of green jasper, some iron swords, numerous iron arrow-heads, and a few small incomplete rings of gold, silver, copper, and iron were found in the chambers. Many fragments and a few more or less entire *Tatemono*, or hollow cylinders made of clay, were also found in or in front of the passage-ways. Archaeology tells us that these objects are of the same age as the *Iwaibe* potteries.

In other localities, the hollow clay cylinders are found encircling sepulchral mounds, the stone chambers of which generally contain *Iwaibe* potteries and other objects mentioned above. The time when these mounds were made, is generally estimated to be seventeen or eighteen centuries ago. Thus it is clear that some of the caves of which I speak were used as burial-places about the beginning of the Christian Era, and the object of the artificial closing of the chambers with stones is thus easily understood. Except one skeleton, which was lying on the fragments of the rock, fallen from the ceiling of one

chamber, and consequently of late origin, neither human bones nor traces of cremation were found in any cave. As bones may easily be decomposed, broken, and dispersed under the alternate states of immersion into water and drying up, caused by the accumulation of rain-water percolating through the upper portion of the artificial shutting, and its escape through the lower portion, this negative evidence cannot be looked upon as conclusive against the view that some of these caves were used as burial-places. The majority of the caves, however, were found not to contain objects commonly discovered in sepulchral mounds, nor to be closed artificially. Even the caves which show traces of having been used as burial-places, can hardly be said to have been made for that purpose.

As I have already said, the figures, resembling pottery marks, scratched on the wall of the inner portion of the passage-way, were found partially covered with piles of stones. If the cave had been made as a burial-place, the artificial closing of the chamber, or the covering of the wall, must have been well known; and it is very improbable that the ancient cave-maker would have drawn those figures, whatever end they may have been meant to serve, on a comparatively insignificant part of the cave. It is even more improbable that he would have drawn them as the recreation of an idle hour, without a definite intention, on the wall of a cave, if that cave was made for so solemn a purpose. The fact that the course of the furrow on a cave floor was often found to be stopped by an artificial closing, seems also to point out that the caves were probably made for some other purpose than the burial of the dead. It is very hard to believe that the ancient workmen made such furrows on the floors of the caves, leading through the passage-ways, either entirely or partially, if these caves were intended for burial-places, and were consequently to have been closed up. The indications that the caves had been used for burial, were found in both unfinished as well as in finished caves; there were no

distinctions between the two cases, either in the modes of closing, or in the nature of the finds, to show the difference in ranks of the persons whose bodies were respectively placed in these caves. Hence it seems more natural to suppose that caves, already made or half made, for some other purpose, had been utilized afterwards, conventionally, as burial-places, without regard to their finish, than to suppose that caves, specially intended for receiving the dead, apparently of the same rank, were made sometimes well and sometimes roughly. The general resemblance in form and execution, not only of the passage-ways, but also of the chambers, seems to show either, that all the caves were made simultaneously, or that some of them were left open for a long time, so as to let the workman examine and copy their internal structures. Neither of these two was likely to be the case, if the caves were originally meant for burial-places.

Before and after the discovery of the caves of Nishi-Yoshimi, I made several journeys to different parts of Japan, and visited about thirty similar cave districts. The general results of the examinations of several hundred caves in these places, is also in favour of the view, repeatedly stated above, that the object of making these caves must have been something besides making a place for the dead. But as there exists no record or tradition, to tell us for what other purpose these caves were made, let us turn to other countries, to see whether there are any similar caves, and if so, for what they are intended.

Examples of artificial caves are by no means rare. In some countries they were made as burial-places, in others for religious purposes, and in others, again, they were intended for dwellings. Those, however, which in structure and arrangement resemble most the caves of Nishi-Yoshimi, are, so far as I know, the caves of China and Canary, both of which belong to the category of dwelling-caves. I heard from Messrs. R. Ōhara and C. Ino-uye, accurate descriptions of the dwelling-caves which they had themselves

examined, in different parts of China ; and I read in Mrs. O. M. Stone's work, "Tenerife and its Six Satellites," of similar caves at Artenara in Gran Canaria. The descriptions of these caves agree with those of the caves of Nishi-Yoshimi, not only in the essential structure, but also in the narrowness of the passage-ways, and the presence of shelf-like depressions, cut into the walls, and bed-like elevations left on the floors. The shelf-like depressions and the bed-like elevations of the Nishi-Yoshimi caves may really be shelves and beds, and consequently the caves themselves may have been dwelling-places.

If we suppose this to be the case, the explanation of the general resemblance of the internal structure of the chambers, and the presence of the scratched figures on the side wall of the passage-way, become easier. The internal communications more or less artificially made between finished caves, may be the openings through which men in neighbouring chambers conversed with each other. Moreover, as the consequence of the above supposition, if we regard the burial of the dead to be a subsequent utilization of the caves, the indiscriminate employment of finished and unfinished caves for the purpose, and the stopping of the courses of the furrows by the artificial closing of the chambers, will be understood without any difficulty. Thus it is highly probable that the Nishi-Yoshimi caves were originally made for dwelling purposes, and afterwards utilized as burial-places.

The question will now arise—Is there any mention in Japanese history of cave-dwellings or cave-dwellers? Those who are acquainted with the ancient literature of the country, answer, without hesitation, in the affirmative. Though our records are equally silent about the makers and the original uses of any particular set of caves, we can gather from them many passages telling us that caves were much used as dwellings by a savage race called *Tsuchigumo*, and also, though in a far less degree, by the ancestors of the present Japanese. The latest mention of dwelling-caves

used by the latter, is one year before the accession of the second Emperor, that is 582 B.C. The custom of dwelling in caves was carried on by the *Tsuchigumo* to a much later date. The very name *Tsuchigumo*, given by the first Emperor to the savages, who then occupied the southern half of the main island of Japan, is said to signify "those who hide themselves in earth," that is those who dwell in caves. The latest mention of these cave-dwellers is 200 A.D. We are still ignorant of the difference in structure of the dwelling-caves of these two different peoples; hence I am unable to say precisely who were the makers of Nishi-Yoshimi caves, even if these views about the uses of these caves be correct.

I am fully aware that our investigations are yet very incomplete; but I am inclined to think at present that the numerous artificial caves, which I have discovered in Nishi-Yoshimi, were made for use as dwellings by a people acquainted with metallic implements; and afterwards, especially at the beginning of the Christian Era, were utilized as burial-places by the ancestors of the present Japanese. Some of the caves used as burial-places, were undoubtedly opened at different times by those who wanted to see the interior of the chambers or to rifle their contents. As to the relation between those who made these caves, and those whose bodies were placed in them, there are as yet no sufficient data to form any reliable or even probable opinion.

THE COUNTRIES OF OUR LAST FIGHT, AND OF OUR NEXT WAR.

## LEGENDS, SONGS, AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN,\*

(GILGIT, YASIN, HUNZA, NAGYR, CHITRÁL, &C., AND  
KAFIRISTAN).

- I. DARDU LEGENDS, *in Shiná* (the language, with dialectic modifications of Gilgit, Astor, Guraz, Chilás, Hodur, Dureyl, Tanair, etc., and the language of historical songs in Hunza and Nagyr.

(Committed to writing for the first time in 1866,

By DR. G. W. LEITNER,

*from the dictation of Dards. This race has no written character of its own.)*

### A.—DEMONS = YATSH (YUECCI?).

DEMONS are of a gigantic size, and have only *one eye, which is on the forehead*. They used to rule over the mountains and oppose the cultivation of the soil by man. They often dragged people away into their recesses. Since the adoption of the Muhammadan religion, the demons have relinquished their possessions, and only occasionally trouble the believers.

They do not walk by day, but confine themselves to promenading at night. A spot is shown near Astor, at a village called Bulent, where five large mounds are pointed out which have somewhat the shape of huge baskets. Their existence is explained as follows. A Zemindar (cultivator) at Grukôt, a village farther on, on the Kashmir road, had, with great trouble, sifted his grain for storing, and had put it into baskets and sacks. He then went away. The demons came—five in number—carrying huge leather-

\* "Dardistan," or the country of the Daradas of Hindu mythology, embraces, in the narrowest sense of the term, the Shiná-speaking countries (Gilgit); in a wider sense, Hunza, Nagyr, Yasin, and Chitrál; and in the widest, also parts of Kafiristan. (See my "Dardistan, part III.")

<sup>1</sup> "Yatsh" means "bad" in Kashmiri.



GILGITI.



2 CHILÁSIS.

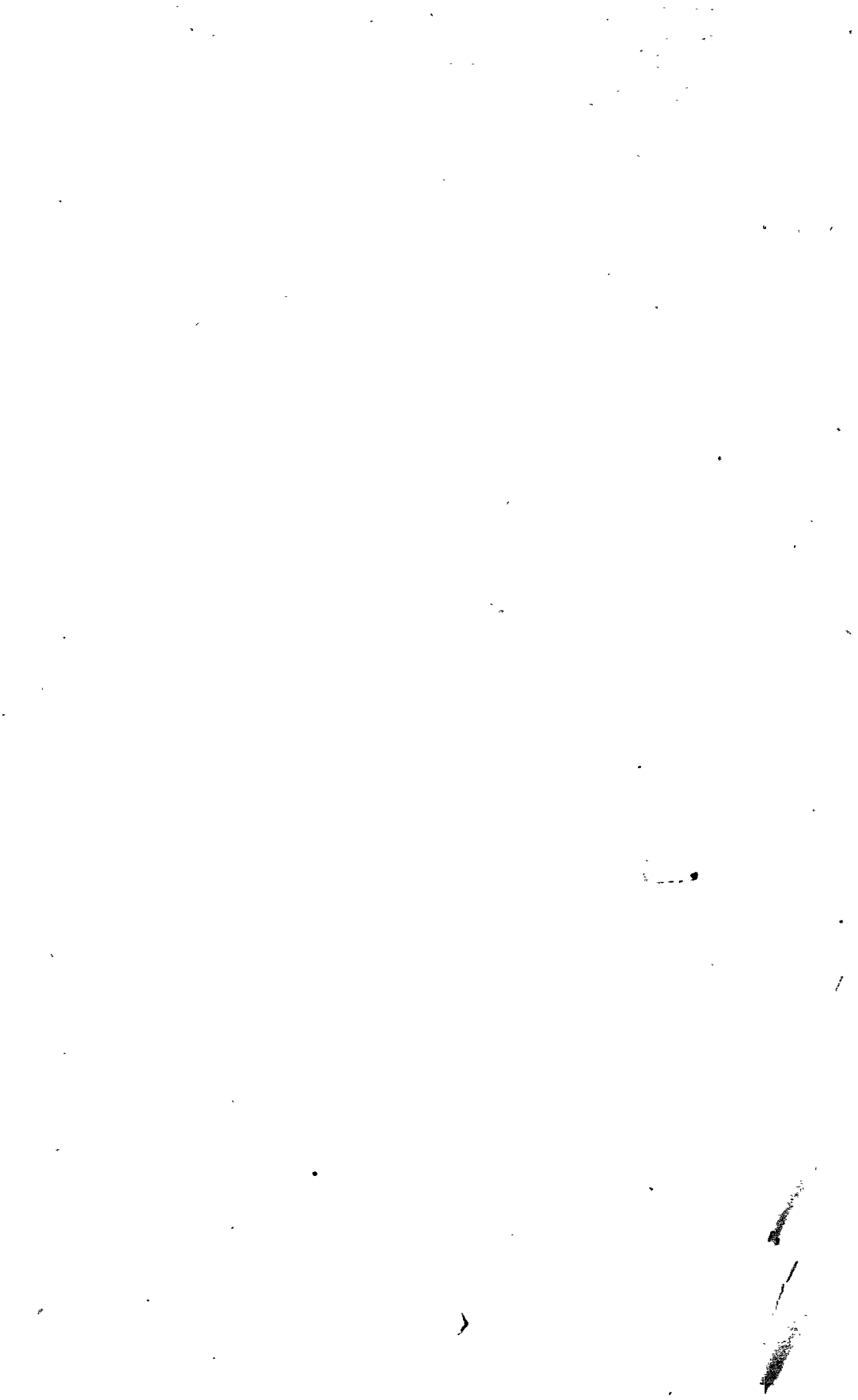


ASTORI.



2 BASHGALI KAFIRS.





sacks, into which they put the grain. They then went to a place which is still pointed out and called "*Gué Gutumé Yatsheyn gau boki*," or "The place of the demons' loads at the hollow"—*Gué* being the *Shiná* name for the present village of *Grukôt*. There they brought up a huge flat stone—which is still shown—and made it into a kind of pan, "*tawa*," for the preparation of bread. But the morning dawned and obliged them to disappear; they converted the sacks and their contents into earthen mounds, which have the shape of baskets and are still shown.

#### I.—THE WEDDING OF DEMONS.

A *Shikari* (sportsman) was once hunting in the hills. He had taken provisions with him for five days. On the sixth day he found himself without any food. Excited and fatigued by his fruitless expedition, he wandered into the deepest mountain recesses, careless whither he went as long as he could find water to assuage his thirst, and a few wild berries to allay his hunger. Even that search was unsuccessful, and, tired and hungry, he endeavoured to compose himself to sleep. Even that comfort was denied him, and, nearly maddened with the situation, he again arose and looked around him. It was the first or second hour of night, and, at a short distance, he descried a large fire blazing a most cheerful welcome to the hungry, and now chilled, wanderer. He approached it quietly, hoping to meet some other sportsman who might provide him with food. Coming near the fire, he saw a very large and curious assembly of giants, eating, drinking, and singing. In great terror, he wanted to make his way back, when one of the assembly, who had a squint in his eye, got up for the purpose of fetching water for the others. He overtook him, and asked him whether he was a "child of man." Half dead with terror, he could scarcely answer that he was, when the demon invited him to join them at the meeting, which was described to be a wedding party. The *Shikari* replied: "You are a demon, and will destroy me"; on

which the spirit took an oath, *by the sun and the moon*, that he certainly would not do so. He then hid him under a bush and went back with the water. He had scarcely returned when a plant was torn out of the ground and a small aperture was made, into which the giants managed to throw all their property, and, gradually making themselves thinner and thinner, themselves vanished into the ground through it. Our sportsman was then taken by the hand by the friendly demon, and, before he knew how, he himself glided through the hole and found himself in a huge apartment, which was splendidly illuminated. He was placed in a corner where he could not be observed. He received some food, and gazed in mute astonishment on the assembled spirits. At last, he saw the mother of the bride taking her daughter's head into her lap and weeping bitterly at the prospect of her departure into another household. Unable to control her grief, and in compliance with an old Shīn custom, she began the singing of the evening by launching into the following strains :

#### SONG OF THE MOTHER.

ORIGINAL :—

*Ajjeyn Biráni !<sup>2</sup> mey palise, shikk sanéy,*  
 (Thy) mother's Biráni ! my little darling, ornaments will wear,  
*Inne Buldar Bútshe angai tapp bey hani,*  
 (Whilst) here at Buldar Bútshe the heavens dark will become,  
*Nágeri Phall Tshátshe Kani miráni in,*  
 The Nagari (of race) Phall Tshátshe of Khans the prince will come,  
*Téyn Mirkán málose tshé güm bagéy,*  
 Thy Mirkán father-from new corn will be distributed.  
*Sátti Yabeo wey bo ! Shadú Malik bojum théum.*  
 Seven rivers' water be ! Shadu Malik a going will make,  
*Tey Mirkann malo Tshe gi bage.*  
 Thy Mirkann, father, now ghee will distribute.

TRANSLATION :—

"Oh, Biráni, thy mother's own ; thou, little darling, wilt wear ornaments, whilst to me, who will remain here at Buldar Butshe, the heavens will appear dark. The prince of Lords of Phall Tshatshe race is coming from

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<sup>2</sup> The father's name was Mir Khan. The daughter's name was Biran. The bridegroom's name was Shadu Malik of Nagyr, of Phall Tshatshe race and the place of the wedding was Buldar Butshe.

Nagyr; and Mirkann, thy father, now distributes corn (as an act of welcome). Be (as fruitful and pleasant) as the water of *seven rivers*, for Shadu Malik (the prince) is determined to start, and now thy father Mirkann is distributing ghee (as a compliment to the departing guest)."

The Shikari began to enjoy the scene and would have liked to have stayed, but his squinting friend told him now that he could not be allowed to remain any longer. So he got up, but before again vanishing through the above-mentioned aperture into the human world, he took a good look at the demons. To his astonishment he beheld on the shoulders of one a shawl which he had safely left at home. Another held his gun; a third was eating out of his own dishes; one had his many-coloured stockings on, and another disported himself in pidjamas (drawers) which he only ventured to put on, on great occasions. He also saw many of the things that had excited his admiration among the property of his neighbours in his native village, being most familiarly used by the demons. He scarcely could be got to move away, but his friendly guide took hold of him and brought him again to the place where he had first met him. On taking leave he gave him three loaves of bread. As his village was far off, he consumed two of the loaves on the road. On reaching home, he found his father, who had been getting rather anxious at his prolonged absence. To him he told all that had happened, and showed him the remaining loaf, of which the old man ate half. His mother, a good housewife, took the remaining half and threw it into a large granary, where, as it was the season of Sharó (autumn), a sufficient store of flour had been placed for the use of the family during the winter. Strange to say, that half-loaf brought luck, for demons mean it sometimes kindly to the children of men, and only hurt them when they consider themselves offended. The granary remained always full, and the people of the village rejoiced with the family, for they were liked and were good people.

It also should be told that as soon as the Shikari came home he looked after his costly shawl, dishes, and clothes,

but he found all in its proper place and perfectly uninjured. On inquiring amongst his neighbours he also found that they too had not lost anything. He was much astonished at all this, till an old woman who had a great reputation for wisdom, told him that this was the custom of demons, and that they invariably borrowed the property of mankind for their weddings, and as invariably restored it. On occasions of rejoicings amongst them they felt kindly towards mankind.

Thus ends one of the prettiest tales that I have heard.

## 2.—THE DEMON'S PRESENT OF COALS IS TURNED INTO GOLD.

Something similar to what has just been related, is said to have happened at Doyur, on the road from Gilgit to Nagyr. A man of the name of Phûko had a son named Laskirr, who, one day going out to fetch water was caught by a Yatsh, who tore up a plant (" reeds" ?) " phuru" and entered with the lad into the fissure which was thereby created. He brought him to a large palace in which a number of goblins, male and female, were diverting themselves. He there saw all the valuables of the inhabitants of his village. A wedding was being celebrated and the mother sang :—

Gúm bagé déy, Budulély Khatúni.  
 Gúm bagé déy, huhá huhá !!  
 Gí bagé déy, Budulély Khatúnise.  
 Gí bagé déy, huhá huhá !!  
 Motz bagé déy, Budulély Khatúni.  
 Motz bagé déy, huhá huhá !!  
 Mô bagé déy, huhá huhá !! &c., &c.

### TRANSLATION :—

Corn is being distributed, daughter of Budul.  
 Corn is being distributed, hurrah ! hurrah ! (*Chorus.*)  
 Ghee is being distributed, &c. (*Chorus.*)  
 Meat is being distributed, &c. (*Chorus.*)  
 Wine is being distributed, &c., &c. (*Chorus.*)

On his departure, the demon gave him a sackful of coals, and conducted him through the aperture made by the tearing up of the reed, towards his village. The moment

the demon had left, the boy emptied the sack of the coals and went home, when he told his father what had happened. In the emptied sack they found a small bit of coal, which, as soon as they touched it, became a gold coin, very much to the regret of the boy's father, who would have liked his son to have brought home the whole sackful.

B.—“BARAI,” “PERIS,” “FAIRIES.”

They are handsome, in contradistinction to the Yatsh or Demons, and stronger; they have a beautiful castle on the top of the Nanga Parbat or Dyarmul (so called from being inaccessible). This castle is made of crystal, and the people fancy they can see it. They call it “Shell-batte-kôt” or “Castle of Glass-stone.”

I.—THE SPORTSMAN AND THE CASTLE OF THE FAIRIES.

Once a sportsman ventured up the Nanga Parbat. To his surprise he found no difficulty, and venturing farther and farther, he at last reached the top. There he saw a beautiful castle made of glass, and pushing one of the doors he entered it, and found himself in a most magnificent apartment. Through it he saw an open space that appeared to be the garden of the castle, but there was in it only one tree of excessive height, and which was entirely composed of pearls and corals. The delighted sportsman filled his sack in which he carried his corn, and left the place, hoping to enrich himself by the sale of the pearls. As he was going out of the door he saw an innumerable crowd of serpents following him. In his agitation he shouldered the sack and attempted to run, when a pearl fell out. It was eagerly swallowed by a serpent which immediately disappeared. The sportsman, glad to get rid of his pursuers at any price, threw pearl after pearl to them, and in every case it had the desired effect. At last, only one serpent remained, but for her (a fairy in that shape?) he found no pearl; and urged on by fear, he hastened to his village, Tarsing, which is at the very foot of the Nanga Parbat. On entering his house,

he found it in great agitation ; bread was being distributed to the poor as they do at funerals, for his family had given him up as lost. The serpent still followed and stopped at the door. In despair, the man threw the corn-sack at her, when lo ! a pearl glided out. It was eagerly swallowed by the serpent, which immediately disappeared. However, the man was not the same being as before. He was ill for days, and in about a fortnight after the events narrated, died, for fairies never forgive a man who has surprised their secrets.

## 2.—THE FAIRY WHO PUNISHED HER HUMAN LOVER.

It is not believed in Astor that fairies ever marry human beings, but in Gilgit there is a legend to that effect. A famous sportsman, Kibá Lorí, who never returned empty-handed from any excursion, kept company with a fairy to whom he was deeply attached. Once in the hot weather the fairy said to him not to go out shooting during "the seven days of the summer," "Caniculars," which are called "Bardá," and are supposed to be the hottest days in Dardistan. "I am," said she, "obliged to leave you for that period, and, mind, you do not follow me." The sportsman promised obedience and the fairy vanished, saying that he would certainly die if he attempted to follow her. Our love-intoxicated Nimrod, however, could not endure her absence. On the fourth day he shouldered his gun and went out with the hope of meeting her. Crossing a range, he came upon a plain, where he saw an immense gathering of game of all sorts and his beloved fairy milking a "Kill" (markhor) and gathering the milk into a silver vessel. The noise which Kibá Lorí made caused the animal to start and to strike out with his legs, which upset the silver vessel. The fairy looked up, and to her anger beheld the disobedient lover. She went up to him and, after reproaching him, struck him in the face. But she had scarcely done so when despair mastered her heart, and she cried out in the deepest anguish that "he now must die within four days." "However," she said,

"do shoot one of these animals, so that people may not say that you have returned empty-handed." The poor man returned crestfallen to his home, lay down, and died on the fourth day.

C.—DAYALL=WIZARDS AND WITCHES.

The gift of second sight, or rather the intercourse with fairies, is confined to a few families in which it is hereditary. The wizard is made to inhale the fumes of a fire which is lit with the wood of the *tshili*<sup>3</sup> (Panjabi=Padam), a kind of fir-wood which gives much smoke. Into the fire the milk of a white sheep or goat is poured. The wizard inhales the smoke till he apparently becomes insensible. He is then taken on the lap of one of the spectators, who sings a song which restores him to his senses. In the meanwhile, a goat is slaughtered, and the moment the fortune-teller jumps up, its bleeding neck is presented to him, which he sucks as long as a drop remains. The assembled musicians then strike up a great noise, and the wizard rushes about in the circle which is formed round him and talks unintelligibly. The fairy then appears at some distance and sings, which, however, only the wizard hears. He then communicates her sayings in a song to one of the musicians, who explains its meaning to the people. The wizard is called upon to foretell events and to give advice in cases of illness, etc. The people believe that in ancient times these Dayalls invariably spoke correctly, but that now scarcely one saying in a hundred turns out to be true. Wizards do not now make a livelihood by their talent, which is considered its own reward.

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There are few legends so exquisite as the one which chronicles the origin, or rather the rise, of Gilgit. The traditions regarding Alexander the Great, which Vigne and others have imagined to exist among the people of Dardistan, are unknown to, at any rate, the Shiná race, excepting

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere called *tshi*.



in so far as any Munshi accompanying the Maharajah's troops may, perhaps, accidentally have referred to them in conversation with a Shīn. Any such information would have been derived from the Sikandar-nama of Nizāmi, and would, therefore, possess no original value. There exist no ruins, as far as I have gone, to point to an occupation of Dardistan by the soldiers of Alexander. The following legend, however, which not only lives in the memories of all the Shīn people, whether they be Chilasī, Astorī, Gilgitī, or Brokhpā (the latter, as I discovered, living actually side by side with the Baltis in Little Tibet), but which also an annual festival commemorates, is not devoid of interest from either a historical or a purely literary point of view.

#### D.—HISTORICAL LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF GILGIT.

"Once upon a time there lived a race at Gilgit, whose origin is uncertain. Whether they sprang from the soil, or had immigrated from a distant region, is doubtful; so much is believed, that they were Gayupí = spontaneous, aborigines, unknown. Over them ruled a monarch who was a descendant of the evil spirits, the Yatsh, that terrorized over the world. His name was Shiribadatt, and he resided at a castle, in front of which there was a course for the performance of the manly game of Polo. (See my Hunza Nagyr Hand-book.) His tastes were capricious, and in every one of his actions his fiendish origin could be discerned. The natives bore his rule with resignation, for what could they effect against a monarch at whose command even magic aids were placed? However, the country was rendered fertile, and round the capital bloomed attractive gardens.

"The heavens, or rather the virtuous Peris, at last grew tired of his tyranny, for he had crowned his iniquities by indulging in a propensity for cannibalism. This taste had been developed by an accident. One day his cook brought him some mutton broth, the like of which he had never tasted. After much inquiry as to the nature of the food on which the sheep had been brought up, it was eventually

traced to an old woman, its first owner. She stated that her child and the sheep were born on the same day, and losing the former, she had consoled herself by suckling the latter. This was a revelation to the tyrant. He had discovered the secret of the palatability of the broth, and was determined to have a never-ending supply of it. So he ordered that his kitchen should be regularly provided with children of tender age, whose flesh, when converted into broth, would remind him of the exquisite dish he had once so much relished. This cruel order was carried out. The people of the country were dismayed at such a state of things, and sought slightly to improve it by sacrificing, in the first place, all orphans and children of neighbouring tribes! The tyrant, however, was insatiable, and soon was his cruelty felt by many families at Gilgit, who were compelled to give up their children to slaughter.

"Relief came at last. At the top of the mountain Ko, which it takes a day to ascend, and which overlooks the village of Doyur, below Gilgit, on the side of the river, appeared three figures. They looked like men, but much more strong and handsome. In their arms they carried bows and arrows, and turning their eyes in the direction of Doyur, they perceived innumerable flocks of sheep and cattle grazing on a prairie between that village and the foot of the mountain. The strangers were fairies, and had come (perhaps from Nagyr?) to this region with the view of ridding Gilgit of the monster that ruled over it. However, this intention was confined to the two elder ones. The three strangers were brothers, and none of them had been born at the same time. It was their intention to make Azru Shemsher, the youngest, Rajah of Gilgit, and, in order to achieve their purpose, they hit upon the following plan.

"On the already-noticed plain, which is called Didingé, a sportive calf was gamboling towards and away from its mother. It was the pride of its owner, and its brilliant red colour could be seen from a distance. 'Let us see

who is the best marksman,' exclaimed the eldest, and saying this, he shot an arrow in the direction of the calf, but missed his aim. The second brother also tried to hit it, but also failed. At last, Azru Shemsher, who took a deep interest in the sport, shot his arrow, which pierced the poor animal from side to side and killed it. The brothers, whilst descending, congratulated Azru on his sportsmanship, and on arriving at the spot where the calf was lying, proceeded to cut its throat, and to take out from its body *the titbits, namely the kidneys and the liver.*

"They then roasted these delicacies, and invited Azru to partake of them first. He respectfully declined, on the ground of his youth; but they urged him to do so, 'in order,' they said, 'to reward you for such an excellent shot.' Scarcely had the meat touched the lips of Azru, than the brothers got up, and vanishing into the air, called out, 'Brother! you have touched impure food, which Peris never should eat, and we have made use of your ignorance of this law, because we want to make you a human being,<sup>4</sup> who shall rule over Gilgit; remain therefore at Doyur.'

"Azru in deep grief at the separation, cried, 'Why remain at Doyur, unless it be to grind corn?' 'Then,' said the brothers, 'go to Gilgit.' 'Why,' was the reply, 'go to Gilgit, unless it be to work in the gardens?' 'No, no,' was the last and consoling rejoinder; 'you will assuredly become the king of this country, and deliver it from its merciless oppressor.'

"No more was heard of the departing fairies, and Azru remained by himself, endeavouring to gather consolation from the great mission which had been bestowed on him. A villager met him, and, struck by his appearance, offered him shelter in his house. Next morning he went on the roof of his host's house, and calling out to him to come up, pointed to the Ko mountain, on which, he said, he plainly discerned a wild goat. The incredulous villager began to

<sup>4</sup> Eating meat was the process of *incarnation*.

fear he had harboured a maniac, if no worse character ; but Azru shot off his arrow, and accompanied by the villager (who had assembled some friends for protection, as he was afraid his young guest might be an associate of robbers, and lead him into a trap), went in the direction of the mountain. There, to be sure, at the very spot that had been pointed out, though many miles distant, was lying the wild goat, with Azru's arrow transfixing its body. The astonished peasants at once hailed him as their leader, but he exacted an oath of secrecy from them, for he had come to deliver them from their tyrant, and would keep his incognito till such time as his plans for the destruction of the monster were matured.

“ He then took leave of the hospitable people of Doyur, and went to Gilgit. On reaching the place, which is scarcely four miles distant from Doyur, he amused himself by prowling about in the gardens adjoining the royal residence. There he met one of the female companions of Shiribadatt's daughter (*goli* in Hill Punjabi, *Shadróy* in Gilgiti) fetching water for the princess, a lady both remarkably handsome, and of a sweet disposition. The companion rushed back, and told the young lady to look from over the ramparts of the castle at a wonderfully handsome young man whom she had just met. The princess placed herself in a spot from which she could observe any one approaching the fort. Her maid then returned, and induced Azru to come with her on the Polo ground, the “Shavaran,” in front of the castle ; the princess was smitten with his beauty and at once fell in love with him. She then sent word to the young prince to come and see her. When he was admitted into her presence, he for a long time denied being anything else than a common labourer. At last, he confessed to being a fairy's child, and the overjoyed princess offered him her heart and hand. It may be mentioned here that the tyrant Shiribadatt had a wonderful horse, which could cross a mile at every jump, and which its rider had accustomed to jump both into and out

of the fort, over its walls. So regular were the leaps which that famous animal could take, that he invariably alighted at a distance of a mile from the fort and at the same place.

On that very day on which the princess had admitted young Azru into the fort, King Shiribadatt was out hunting, of which he was desperately fond, and to which he used sometimes to devote a week or two at a time. We must now return to Azru, whom we left conversing with the princess. Azru remained silent when the lady confessed her love. Urged to declare his sentiments, he said that he would not marry her unless she bound herself to him by the most stringent oath; this she did, and *they became in the sight of God as if they were wedded man and wife.*<sup>5</sup> He then announced that he had come to destroy her father, and asked her to kill him herself. This she refused; but as she had sworn to aid him in every way she could, he finally induced her to promise that she would ask her father *where his soul was*. 'Refuse food,' said Arzu, 'for three or four days, and your father, who is devotedly fond of you will ask for the reason of your strange conduct; then say, "Father, you are often staying away from me for several days at a time, and I am getting distressed lest something should happen to you; do reassure me by letting me know where your soul is, and let me feel certain that your life is safe."' This the princess promised to do, and when her father returned refused food for several days. The anxious Shiribadatt made inquiries, to which she replied by making the already-named request. The tyrant was for a few moments thrown into mute astonishment, and finally refused compliance with her preposterous demand. The love-smitten lady went on starving herself, till at last her father, fearful for his daughter's life, told her not to fret herself about him, as *his soul was [of snow?] in the snows*, and that he could only perish by fire. The

<sup>5</sup> The story of the famous horse, the love-making between Azru and the Princess, the manner of their marriage and other incidents connected with the expulsion of the tyrant deserve attention.

princess communicated this information to her lover. Azru went back to Doyur and the villages around, and assembled his faithful peasants. Then he asked to take twigs of the fir-tree or *tshi*, bind them together and light them—then to proceed in a body with the torches to the castle in a circle, keep close together, and surround it on every side. He then went and dug out a very deep hole, as deep as a well, in the place where Shiribadatt's horse used to alight, and covered it with green boughs. The next day he received information that the torches (*talèn* in Gilgiti and *Lome* in Astori) were ready. He at once ordered the villagers gradually to draw near the fort in the manner which he had already indicated.

“King Shiribadatt was then sitting in his castle; near him his treacherous daughter, who was so soon to lose her parent. All at once he exclaimed, ‘I feel very close; go out, dearest, and see what has happened.’ The girl went out, and saw torches approaching from a distance; but fancying it to be something connected with the plans of her husband, she went back, and said it was nothing. The torches came nearer and nearer, and the tyrant became exceedingly restless. ‘Air, air,’ he cried, ‘I feel very, very ill; do see, daughter, what is the matter.’ The dutiful lady went, and returned with the same answer as before. At last, the torch-bearers had fairly surrounded the fort, and Shiribadatt, with a presentiment of impending danger, rushed out of the room, saying ‘that he felt he was dying.’ He then ran to the stables and mounted his favourite charger, and with one blow of the whip made him jump over the wall of the castle. Faithful to its habit, the noble animal alighted at the same place, but alas! only to find itself engulfed in a treacherous pit. Before the king had time to extricate himself, the villagers had run up with their torches. ‘Throw them upon him,’ cried Azru. With one accord all the blazing wood was thrown upon Shiribadatt, who miserably perished. Azru was then most enthusiastically proclaimed king, celebrated his nuptials with the

fair traitor, and, as sole tribute, exacted the offering of one sheep, instead of that of a human child, annually from every one of the natives.<sup>6</sup> This custom has prevailed down to the present day, and the people of Shīn, wherever they be, celebrate their delivery from the rule of a monster, and the inauguration of a more humane government, in the month preceding the beginning of winter—a month which they call Dawakió or Daykió—after the full moon is over and the new moon has set in. The day of this national celebration is called ‘nôs tshilí,’ ‘the feast of firs.’ The day generally follows four or five days after the meat provision for the winter has been laid in to dry. A few days of rejoicing precede the special festivity, which takes place at night. Then all the men of the villages go forth, having torches in their hands, which, at the sound of music, they swing round their heads, and throw in the direction of Gilgit, if they are at any distance from that place; whilst the people of Gilgit throw them indifferently about the plain in which that town, if town it may be called, is situated. When the throwing away of the brands is over, every man returns to his house, where a curious custom is observed. He finds the door locked. The wife then asks: ‘Where have you been all night? I won’t let you come in now.’ Then her husband entreats her and says, ‘I have brought you property, and children, and happiness, and everything you desire.’ Then, after some further parley, the door is opened, and the husband walks in. He is, however, stopped by a beam which goes across the room, whilst all the females of the family rush into an inner apartment to the eldest lady of the place. The man then assumes sulkiness and refuses to advance, when the repenting wife launches into the following song:—

<sup>6</sup> Possibly this legend is one of the causes of the unfounded reputation of cannibalism which was given by Kashmiris and others to the Dards before 1866, and of which one Dardu tribe accuses another, with which, even if it should reside in a neighbouring valley, it may have no intercourse. I refer elsewhere to the custom of drinking a portion of the blood of an enemy, to which my two Kafirs confessed.—(“Dardistan,” Part III.)

ORIGINAL :—

*Mù tûtè shâbîlès, wò rajò tolyâ.*

I of thee glad am, oh Rajah's presented with tolahs !

*Mù tûtè shâbîlès, wò ashpa panu.*

I of thee glad am, oh steed's rider.

*Mù tûtè shâbîlès, wò tumâk gînu.*

I of thee glad am, oh gun-wearer. [Evidently a modern interpolation.]

*Mù tûtè shâbîlès, wò kangâr gînu.*

I of thee glad am, oh sword-wearer.

*Mù tûtè shâbîlès, wò tshapân bânû.*

I of thee glad am, oh mantle-wearer.

*Mù tûtè shâbîlès, shâ mul dê gînum.*

I of thee glad am, pleasure's price giving I will buy.

*Mù tûtè shâbîlès, wò gûmy tshîno.*

I of thee glad am, oh corn-heap !

*Shâbîlès shâ mul de gînum.*

Rejoicing pleasure's price giving I will buy.

*Mù tûtè shâbîlès, wò gîey loto.*

I of thee glad am, oh ghee-ball.

*Shâbîlès sha mul de gînum.*

Rejoicing pleasure's price giving I will buy.

TRANSLATION :—

Thou hast made me glad ! thou favourite of the Rajah !

Thou hast rejoiced me, oh bold horseman !

I am pleased with thee who so well usest gun and sword !

Thou hast delighted me, oh thou who art invested with a mantle of honour !

Oh great happiness ! I will buy it all by giving pleasure's price.

Oh thou [nourishment to us] a heap of corn and a store of ghee !

Delighted will I buy it all by giving pleasure's price !

“ Then the husband relents and steps over the partition beam. They all sit down, dine together, and thus end the festivities of the ‘ Nôs.’ The little domestic scene is not observed at Gilgit ; but it is thought to be an essential element in the celebration of the day by people whose ancestors may have been retainers of the Gilgit Raja Azru Shemsher, and by whom they may have been dismissed to their homes with costly presents.

“ The song itself is, however, well known at Gilgit.

“ When Azru had safely ascended the throne, he ordered the tyrant's palace to be levelled to the ground. The willing peasants, manufacturing spades of iron, ‘ Killi,’ flocked



to accomplish a grateful task, and sang whilst demolishing his castle :

ORIGINAL :—

*Kúro téyto Shiri-ga-Badât djé kuró*  
 [I am] hard said Shiri and Badatt!<sup>1</sup> why hard?  
*Demm Singéy Khotó kúro*  
 Dem Sing's Khotó [is] hard  
*Na tshumáre kille téy ráke phala thém*  
 [With] this iron spade thy palace level I do  
*Tshaké ! túto Shatshó Malika Demm Singéy*  
 Behold ! thou Shatshó Malika Dem Singh's  
*Khotó kuró na tshumare killéyi*  
 Khotó hard ; [with] this iron spade  
*Téy rake-ga phalatém, tshaké*  
 Thy palace very I level, behold !

TRANSLATION :—

“ ‘ My nature is of a hard metal,’ said Shiri and Badatt. ‘ Why hard ? I Khoto, the son of the peasant Dem Singh, am alone hardy ; with this iron spade I raze to the ground thy kingly house. Behold now, although thou art of race accursed, of Shatsho Malika, I, Dem Singh's son, am of hard metal ; for with this iron spade I level thy very palace ; look out look out ! ’ ”

During the Nauroz [evidently because it is not a national festival] and the Eed, none of these national Shiri songs are sung. Eggs are dyed in different colours and people go about amusing themselves by trying which eggs are hardest by striking the end of one against the end of another. The possessor of the hard egg wins the broken one. The women, however, amuse themselves on those days by tying ropes to trees and swinging themselves about on them.

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere called “ Shiribadatt ” in one name.



GROUP OF NATIVES FROM HUNZA, YASIN, NAGYR, CHITRAL AND BALAM.



## MY RUSSIAN RECORDS.

A CONTINUATION OF RUSSIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CENTRAL  
ASIAN CARTOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY.

WHAT does Russian Science record through early intelligent inquiries into the geography of that region of Central Asia which is now a province of the Empire ?

I have mentioned the first-fruits of Russian scientific exploration, the delineation of the Aral by Gladyshef and Muravin in 1740. Let me here do this credit also to Müller, who checked, in companionship with Kushelef, in his first efforts, yet ventured a second time among the Kirghiz in 1742, and finally produced a route map to Tashkend, interesting because for more than a century after, no educated Russian penetrated east of the Sary-Su.\*

I make here only a passing allusion to Nikitin's journey to India in 1469, not solely because it is more a curious record than a contribution to science, but also because, dealing as I am exclusively with Inner Asia, Nikin touched nowhere upon it, although in Count Wielhorski's translation [*Hakluyt Society's Journal*, 1857] he is made to have reached Bokhara, through an erroneous identification of Chebokhara (modern Barfrush) with that city.

A certain envoy from the Emperor Baber appeared in Moscow in the year 1533; with proposals of interchange of expressions of brotherly friendship, which were however rudely and arrogantly declined by the Grand Duke Vassili. In this century, viz. in 1589, Bokhara sent her first representative to the Russian Czar; Khivà had opened relations with Russia earlier and sent frequent emissaries (ceaselessly from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth), although Cossacks of the Yaïk had repeatedly invaded and ravaged that Khanat from the earliest times.

The first Russian Embassy, under Ivan Kokhlof, proceeded, in 1620, at the friendly request of the Amir

\* Wasting its waters short of the Lower Jaxartes.

Imam Kuli of Bokhara, to that Asiatic State. The Amir's Envoy Adambai returned with the Russian party, as well as a certain emissary from Khiva, then known as the Urganj or Yurganj country, the directions being that from Astrakhan the Russian and the Bokharian Envoys should proceed to Bokhara by the way deemed the shortest.

They take ship, and crossing the Caspian, are driven to Tiub-Karagan, make their way through Turcomans to Urganj, and on to Bokhara. Kokhlof's journey across the Ust-Urt is not traceable, nor indeed is Anthony Jenkinson's with any detail; but Kokhlof passes to Urganj, and indeed from Urganj to Bokhara and back the same way, with an utter disregard of names of intermediate localities, which renders his account geographically worthless.

On the other hand, it is historically of some value as illustrating the political situation in Khiva at the time, and as adducing evidence relative to passing events in Bokhara.

The value of the entire narrative lies, however, in the nature of the Instructions given to the Russian Envoy with reference to the manner in which he should comport himself at the Amir's Court and to the language which he should employ. He was commanded to refuse to dine at the same table with any other envoy, to insist upon the Amir rising at the mention of the name of the Tsar; and above all, to extol his master's virtues, greatness and glory; to represent that even certain independent peoples and sovereigns were submissive to him and obedient to his will and behests, and generally to impress upon the Amir many falsehoods as truths.

The Kniaz Khilkof who gave publicity for the first time to Khokhlof's narrative in 1879, in his Collection of Russian State Papers, sums up the value of it in these words:— "If all Instructions of the kind, which repose in our various archives of Russia were printed, we should be as thoroughly acquainted with our early policy as we are with that of the present day. We have indeed here not alone a marvellously accurate definition of the attitude which a

Russian Envoy should assume in a given State or towards a given Sovereign, but an equally ample definition of the relations of Russia with all the Powers of Europe and Asia in general with which Russia has any sort of political communications. And this general character of our Instructions is perfectly reflected in the Instructions given to Khokhlof. It is particularly interesting by reason of the praises which he is enjoined to lavish in Bokhara on his Sovereign, by reason of the astounding acumen exhibited, on the one hand in the anticipation of all the questions which the Khan of Bokhara could possibly put to him, and, on the other, in the provision of appropriate and more or less characteristic replies to them.

And truly the lines of these Instructions have been those of all subsequent general directions given to Russian Envoys, modified only to suit different Courts. So to corroborate the observation of Kniaz Khilkof, here quoted, and my own remark as to the misrepresentations, I here give a specimen of the language held by Russian Envoys in Europe.

The Envoy Luke Joanovitch, sent in 1585 to the Emperor Rudolph by the Tsar Theodor, was instructed : " And if thou be asked about the Kizyl-bash and about the Persian, how they stand to His Majesty the Tsar and Grand Duke, and how to the Turk, thou shalt make answer, saying : Those Sovereigns who dwell between His Majesty's dominions—of Astrakhan and of the Kizyl-bash country, the Bokhara King and the Turkestan King, the Kazan King, the Urganj King and the Georgian and Isurian, also the Kal-muk, the Shemakha and the Shevkal Kings—they are all at peace with the Kizyl-bash and between themselves by the advice and at the request of the Tsar, and that in all great matters of amity or difference they refer and report to the Tsar ; whereupon the Tsar orders, and they fulfil accordingly in all obedience, frequently sending envoys to the Tsar, with all due respect and deference."

In the year 1646, the merchant Anis Gribof was despatched to Bokhara with a letter to the Amir Nadir Muhammad ;

but Bokhara and Urganj were then involved in a war with Persia. Gribof, owing to this circumstance, passed into Persia and went no farther. Nadir was succeeded by 'Abdul 'Aziz, and for twenty-three years after this, Russian communications with Central Asia were suspended.

In 1669, the Tsar Alexis sent Simon and Boris Pazukhins to Bokhara, and in 1670 Ivan Fedotof to Khiva.

The Khan Abul Ghazi of Khiva is said to have appropriated all the merchandise of certain Russian traders to Khiva, in 1646, to the value of 10,257 roubles; as this caused rupture of all relations with Khiva, the Russian authorities retaliated in like manner on Khivan traders, detaining them at Astrakhan; and the Russian Government, moreover, demanded compensation, which was absolutely refused by the Khan. Ausha, succeeding his father Abul Ghazi, sent two conciliatory Missions in 1666, and in 1669, to the Tsar; hence, therefore, the despatch, three years later, of Fedotof.

We have here a group of the only interesting early records of travel which Russian archives have hitherto produced, but unfortunately they are not much more than records. The original accounts, with the itineraries, like most others, were found missing from their places in the year 1806, and all that exists are the summarized reports which Messrs. Khanikof, Charykof, Minayef and some others have made the most of.

It appears that the Tsar Alexis, in sending his emissaries to the far East, was moved by a greater consideration for the interests of his country than was shown by his predecessors. He exhibited a knowledge of the requirements of trade and commerce, with a desire to stimulate industries and to base his relations with the rulers of Central Asia on the sounder basis of practical acquaintance with the geography, economical, social, and political conditions of their countries and people, as evidenced in the very different style of Instructions with which his emissaries were provided.

But nothing more than historical information of the past

conditions of these countries was to be extracted from all that remained of the records of these journals, and those of Khokhlof, Pazukhin and Fedotof came, for the first time, under the notice of J. N. Khanykof in 1851.\* Of this group, the summaries of Daùdof's Mission to Bokhara, and Mahmed Isup Kasimof's journey, extending from Bokhara to India, are by far the most curious and interesting. These appear to have been first published in 1879, in the "St. Petersburg Journal" of the 15th (27th) September. The Tsar Alexis instructed Daùdof to ascertain the source of the Darya (literally, river)—between the Òxus and the Jaxartes the distinction was not then known,—to make inquiries about the course of that river, the towns and populations on its banks, and to gather information as to the occupations of the different populations, and as to the directions of routes. Daùdof's commission was confined to Bokhara, but Kasimof and a man named Shishkin were to proceed thence to the "Shah of India," to learn all about that sovereign, to ascertain his name and title, how he should be addressed, and what countries adjoin his dominions.

The loss of the itineraries of these routes is particularly to be lamented, for, to judge by the general summaries of the reports, they may possibly have anticipated in some particulars the information given by Burns, Moorcroft, and others.

Kasimof passed through Balkh, Gorbant, and Charikar, to Cabul, a different route from that described by the English travellers here named. He is supposed to have returned through Bamian to Balkh, crossing the Oxus at Chardjui, and returning to Astrakhan through Khiva, accompanied by an envoy from Balkh to the Tsar.

This interesting record of Russian travels up to the eighteenth century closes with what must perforce be a mere mention of the travels or voyage on the Caspian of

\* Khanykof's explanatory note on the map of Khiva, &c., "Journal of Russian Imperial Geographical Society." See also Khanykof's note on Pazukhin's record in "Report of Third Oriental Congress," vol. ii.



a certain Dubrovin, in 1690, who presumably constructed a chart of that sea, on which he exhibited a water connection between the Aral and the Caspian, traced along the southern extremity of the Ust-Urt. I have in my possession all the records here referred to, but the only allusion to Dubrovin is in the late Professor Grigorief's annotations to Blankennagel's description of Khiva, and Professor Grigorief's reference is through Eichwald.

From this period to that of the reign of Peter I., fruitless were the Missions to Russia from the Asiatic Khans, for Russia did not reciprocate, giving her particular attention to quelling disorders on the Lower Volga, and endeavouring to coerce or cajole the Kalmuks and the Kirghiz. Peter, in 1717, sent out that famous expedition to Khiva under Bekovitch Cherkasski, which gave rise to the saying, "perished like Bekovitch." Four thousand men accompanied Bekovitch with some hundreds of picked troops, yet only some twenty-five, or thereabouts, ever returned home to tell of the sad fate of the force. A complete narrative has, of course, been given, and a Russian story has been founded upon the melancholy event; but these are both of our own and very recent times.

It does not appear that Peter availed himself of any Russian travels in Asia when he equipped his expedition, unless indeed the information with which he provided himself in Hamburg and in Paris was from Russian sources unknown to himself. He did nevertheless take some geographical materials with him to those countries, to be collated for him by persons more competent than any he could find at home.

If Russians had acquired but very little scientific information concerning Central Asia upon which a tolerably accurate map could be based, they had at least in various ways accumulated a rich store of knowledge of the social and political state of affairs in the Steppes and in the Khanats, from a continued intercourse with Asiatics on their Siberian and south-eastern frontiers from Tobolsk

to Astrakhan. It is true that the great mass of reports was lying dormant in the many archives of the Empire, and notably in the Department of Foreign Relations; yet it is difficult to realize the fact, repeatedly stated by Russian writers, that even up to the year 1873, when Khiva was invaded and finally crushed by three large Russian detachments, no State of Central Asia was so little known to the Russians as Khiva. Rarely had anyone passed from Russia to Bokhara who had not traversed Khiva.

The "Turkestan Gazette" for 1873, publishing a series of letters from Dr. Basiner on his journey to Khiva in 1842, endorses the following words written by Basiner and repeated by most Russian writers on Central Asia:—

"Almost nowhere in all the terrestrial globe, excepting perhaps in Central Africa and New Holland, is there a country so little known to us as the Khanat of Khiva, called also Khowarezm, Khuarezm and Khorezm. The reason for this lies in the geographical position of that country, which is not suited for habitation and is waterless (!), surrounded by steppes and deserts, occupied by predatory hordes," an additional reason, he adds, being, "the extreme suspicion of the Khivans, who regard every European as an enemy or a spy." He proceeds to say: "If, notwithstanding the dangers and obstacles on the way to Khiva, the traveller survives the hardships of the journey across the deserts, inevitable death awaits him in Khiva, which may be exemplified by the melancholy fate of Dr. Fries, who was killed in Khiva in 1838. With very few exceptions, only the accredited Agents of Russia and England enjoyed special protection in those (*sic*) States, the safety of these was in a certain degree guaranteed, and although they encountered difficulties, yet they returned home alive. Such was the case with Jenkinson, Muravief, Abbott and Shakspeare."

The statement concerning the productiveness of Khiva is at variance with the almost exhaustive work on Khiva by Dr. Basiner himself, published in 1848, at St. Peters-

burg, in the German language, with map, plans, and engravings, and abounding with statistics of all sorts. A copy of this work is in my possession and now under my hand. But we must remember that Dr. Basiner was writing to the "Turkestan Gazette," to justify the invasion of Khiva.

It should also be observed that the danger to the European in Central Asia has ever arisen, not from the mere fact of his being a Feringhi, but from the bare circumstance of the political jealousies and intrigues at the Courts of the several Central Asian potentates, for Asiatics, however fanatical, are not ferocious or bloodthirsty.

The Russian peasant-merchant Abrosimof left an account of his experience in Khiva during a fifteen years' residence there. This man's narrative was published in the same "Turkestan Gazette" (*vide* also "Turkestan Annual," 1873). He said that the Khivans dwelt in a fertile oasis, that they possessed an abundance of everything for their own sustenance, that the people were kindly, that his reception and treatment were hospitable from the lowest up to the Khan, that he enjoyed perfect liberty, and that the only drawback to the Russians, with all their inclination to fraternize or cultivate relations with Khiva, were the difficulties and hardships of the route, which Russians had not sufficient strength, energy, or ability to struggle with and overcome.

As regards the almost utter want of information concerning, let us here say, Khiva alone, the same Abrosimof, or his reporter, observes: "In the streets of Astrakhan and in the caravan-serais we always meet Khivans, Bokharians, Kirghiz, Turcomans; to come to us, they traverse with ease and comfort large tracts of desert with their laden camels." Exactly so; hence in Astrakhan, Orenburg and elsewhere the Russian acquaintance with the populations of Bokhara and Khiva as well as the Khirghiz, and with the political, social and commercial conditions of those countries, was next to a most familiar one. But we need not marvel at the acknowledged ignorance of Russian officials, or of

Russian Orientalists, when we learn, as we do from such authorities as Mr. P. Savelief, who wrote on "Khiva and the Khivans" in 1840, that "Khiva was the most inaccessible of the Central Asiatic States," while it was only seventeen days distant from the Caspian coast at Krasnovodsk. Savelief had, indeed, learned from Russian travels that Khiva was "a small but fruitful oasis," and that "the sandy argillaceous soil of Khiva yields all the food needed by the Khivans;" but he had not heard of Abrosimof, and did not know how practicable was the journey even from Mangishlak, and how ready were all intermediate clans and "Sultans" to facilitate communication, when Orenburg and Astrakhan did not put out its feelers of political agitation and intrigue. At the same time, Mr. Savelief involuntarily acknowledges the prevalent ignorance in Russia concerning those regions in his announcement of the translation into German of a collection of statements respecting Khiva made by escaped Russian captives. He refers, at the same time, to "precious materials for a geography of Central Asia in the archives of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which await publication;" but time has proved that even he could have had but a vague notion as to what they were, because most of these materials have been discovered in various other archives, a great many being altogether missing.

"Helmertsens Nachrichten über Khiva," u.s.w. (translated into Russian in 1840) was then all that was at that time commonly accessible; for Muravief's book (in 4to., with maps, plans, etc.) was so rare that another Russian writer on Central Asia, referring to it, took it to be a work published in French as a "*Voyage en Turcomanie et à Khiva, etc.*" This book I also have in my possession, together with the separate map and plans, etc., having picked it up with other rare Russian works hereinafter to be alluded to, for a mere song.

I conclude this portion of my paper with another reflection on the want of appreciation in Russia of such

works as that, for example, of Baron de Bade on the Turcomans, a traveller who was compelled to address a French public on a question so relevant to Russian interests. This work and his Notes on the Turcomans were republished in the Journals of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, 1849, not before the *Revue des deux Mondes*, in 1847, had fully gauged the merits of that scholar's researches. In 1820 only foreigners—a Negri and a Meyendorff—could be entrusted with a Mission to Bokhara for thoroughness of work and satisfactory results. Khanykof's "Bokhara" is of a secondary importance, although also a work of great value; but then Khanykof, being of Tartar origin, was enabled through his culture to sift well the chaff from the grain in all he collected on matters relating to Tartary.

ROBERT MICHELL.

*Penzance.*

## THE TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT IN PERSIA:

AN EXPLANATION,

BY GENERAL A. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER.

IN the January number of the IMPERIAL ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, Mr. C. E. Biddulph\* taxes the Telegraph Department in Persia with neglecting to utilize properly the services of the staff, and regrets that the numerous Englishmen scattered over the line of telegraph for the last quarter of a century—many, particularly the civil members of the staff, possessing a very high class of intelligence—have not been turned to any practical use, as mines of information, sources of influence, etc., and also accuses the British Legation at Teheran of partly being the cause of this state of affairs by their disagreeable criticisms, by their jealousy of the Telegraph Department, and by their resenting any infringement of what they consider their special province, namely, local information of any description. As I have been more or less connected with the Telegraph Department for the last quarter of a century, I can explain some of Mr. Biddulph's statements and modify others. The officers of the English Telegraph Department in Persia are in the country for the definite purpose of keeping up the line and forwarding telegrams, and the Government can hardly be expected to keep up a special extra staff for exploring the country. Line-men must of course remain under the line, and it is obvious that if they did not do so the line could not be kept up as it is. Some may think that other officers should, when travelling, take unknown routes, explore, and obtain information, but the officers travel only when transferred from one station to another (and then

\* We desire to state, in justice to Mr. C. E. Biddulph, that he seems to have had no wish to publish his remarks on the "Persian Telegraph Department" in our columns. The MS. of that article was sent to us together with some other MSS., and chosen by ourselves as the most interesting and important of the batch. Mr. Biddulph wrote shortly after the issue of the January number—in which his article had appeared—that this particular MS. had been sent by mistake.—EDITOR.

their time is limited) or on inspection ; they must therefore, in both cases, keep to the high road. The authorities have never restricted all the attention of the subordinates of the Department to the mechanical discharge of their official duties, and have utilized the travels of its more intelligent officers whenever possible, without detriment to the telegraph service. Subordinates get, and always have got, all possible assistance, and whenever they wish to go out shooting or surveying, they need only ask their immediate superior for casual leave and the superior officer always grants it, if the exigencies of the service permit. Very few of the subordinates of the Department possess the slightest aptitude for surveying work. It does not follow that because a man possesses the highest possible intelligence he should be able to make a survey. Former directors, as the late Captain Pierson, and the late Sir Oliver St. John, both Royal Engineer officers, who laid the basis of a correct map of Persia, and others, did their utmost to interest their subordinates in the country and its inhabitants, but, with rare exceptions, not a man who could do even the most elementary work came forward.

As to the disagreeable criticisms and jealousy on the part of the British Legation at Teheran, I doubt whether they exist. It was at the recommendation of the Legation that one of the superior officers of the Telegraph Department was appointed Consul at Isfahan last year, and that a subordinate officer was appointed Vice-Consul at Muhamrah two years ago.

In spite of the obligation on the part of the officers to keep to the line when travelling on duty, and obtaining leave and paying their travelling expenses when going away from the line, various officers have done good work collecting information and surveying ; and such work has been duly acknowledged by the Government of India. Only lately I have seen a letter from the Quartermaster-General which mentions "the many occasions on which useful service has been rendered to the Intelligence Depart-

ment by the director and by the members of the Telegraph Department in Persia."

I regret to see Mr. Biddulph's sweeping remark regarding the military control of the Telegraph Department, and utterly fail to see why this control should be "absurd" and "the great misfortune of the Department." The Department has always been under military control, and has worked exceedingly well under it; and it would be unwise to change the system now, simply, as far as I can see, for the sake of one or two discontented civilians. I have been, about half a dozen times, up and down the road between Bushire and Teheran, and there is not a town, village, caravanserai, or "chapar khaneh" where I have not heard the military officers universally spoken of with the greatest praise and affection; and many official documents can show that the British Government as well as the Persian authorities, from the Shah down to the smallest local governor, have always appreciated their services in Persia. I do not for a moment suppose that Mr. Biddulph has any personal feeling against the military officer now directing the Department, but I cannot help thinking that he would have written differently had he obtained a little more information and not based his statements on communications made by the pensioned non-commissioned officer of the Royal Engineers, whose acquaintance he made, and other persons with fancied grievances. This pensioned non-commissioned officer has somewhat imposed upon Mr. Biddulph, and the tale of "seventeen years at a place without a European neighbour within seventy miles" is very sad, but not true. Mr. Biddulph would certainly not have written as he did had he known the fact that the pensioned officer usually passed the summer months of every year at Isfahan, and that he could have been transferred to another station several times, but objected. The traveller in Persia hears many tales, but he should not believe them all.

Teheran, 26th February, 1892.



## DISEASE MICROBES ANTICIPATED IN SANSKRIT MEDICAL WORKS.


[The illustrious Vaidak physician, Pandit Janardhan of Lahore, has sent us the following important and interesting article.—ED.]

### “ORGANIC GERMS OF DISEASES AS KNOWN TO INDIAN SAGES.”

ORGANIC germs may be either produced or introduced into the system by any of the following causes:—


1. By taking food while suffering from indigestion ; and by the use of unwholesome food.
2. By excess in taking heavy, oily, or fatty food ; as also by the excessive use of ice, or iced water.
3. By mixing foods, the natures of which are contrary one to the other, as heating with cooling food, etc.
4. By want of exercise, and by lazy habits in general ; among which is specified that of sleeping during the day, except in the months of Jyeshtha and Aṣāḍha. [June-July.]
5. By using kidney beans, *visa* (the lotus-root growing in the water), *sālu* (the deep-rooted lotus-root), *kaseru* (the water-lily root), and oleraceous vegetables in general.
6. By excess in the use of any drink, such as vinegar, milk and *gur* (unclarified sugar) ; and of sub-acid drinks like orangeade, wine and water.
7. By the use of animal food, especially of immature animals, such as kids, chickens, etc.

All these produce abnormal disturbances of phlegm and bile, which in turn cause the growth of insects (organic germs) of various kinds, in the human body. They are principally produced in the stomach and intestines. They invade the blood, where they can be detected, as also in the excreta and sputa. Twenty kinds are known and described as follows : Some resemble a barley-corn, while in others, this resemblance is almost perfect. Others are in form somewhat like miniature sea-shells, or flattish scales with red tails. Some resemble earth-worms (*gandhapadas*), while others are small white organisms, some of them with two mouths.



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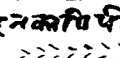
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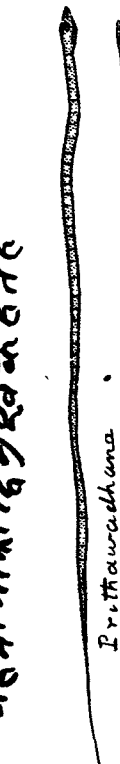
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When any of these three classes of organisms become multiplied to an abnormal extent, a diseased habit of body results, which appears in want of appetite, anæmia, consumption, aches, and sharp pains, heart affections, general uneasiness, diarrhœa, cholera, and other so-called epidemic diseases.

The first fifteen kinds of these organic germs or insects are visible to the naked eye, but the other five are not.

I have taken the above-mentioned statements from the *Susonia Uttara Tantra Adhyāya*, liv., On the living germs of diseases, and how they are produced. This, however, is not the only work which treats of this subject; it is of frequent recurrence in our books. In the *Astāng Rech*, by *Vāg Bhatta*, section *Nidhan* (on Pathology, or the causes of disease), chap. 14, slokas (couplets) 42 to 56 deal with organic germs or disease-producing insects.

There are said to be twenty different kinds of insects or parasites, which feed upon and thus neutralize the impure matters which would otherwise remain uneliminated in the human body. If they fall below the normal number, these effete matters increase and produce one set of diseases; if they rise above the normal number, they cause other disturbances, and produce another set of diseases.

Of these twenty, two kinds are external, and eighteen are internal. The external ones are produced by impurity of the blood and excess of perspiration. The internal are produced in the blood, the phlegm, and the contents of the intestines. The former resemble the sesamum seed, both in form and size, and have many legs. As they increase in size, they cause boils, pimples, and ulcers, itch and other skin diseases. The internal ones produce leprosy and other diseases.

Phlegmatic worms are produced by the excessive use of sweets, sour milk, curds, and new rice. Excessive use of farinaceous and herbaceous food, and whatever leads to abnormal evacuations, produces intestinal worms. The phlegm worms live in the intestines and stomach, and are of seven kinds : 1, horse-whip-rod shaped, attacking the intestines; 2, long earth-worm shaped; 3, shaped like the

ear of rice, attacking the life-blood ; 4, axe shaped, attacking the sinews and nerves ; 5, long and thin, living on undigested food ; 6, like the efflorescence of long grass, living on effete matter in the veins ; and 7, copper-coloured, producing an ill odour.

The abnormal increase of these organic germs produces indigestion, uneasiness, salivation, nausea, swellings, epidemic fevers, cholera, fainting fits, emaciation, cold and sneezing.\* Their names are :—1. *Kaishâda*, destroying the hair ; 2. *Loma Vidhâna*, destroying the bulbs of the hair ; 3. *Lop Dwîpa*, affect the colour of the hair ; 4. *Udambea*, which are like the insects in the fruit of the Gullar tree (*Ficus sylvestris*) ; 5. *Shoushar Motu*, intestinal worms ; 6. *Apad*. These six kinds of germs are invisible to the naked eye ; and when they are abnormally increased, they produce leprosy and other disorders.

1. *Kakeruk*, horse-whip-rod shaped ; 2. *Mukeruk*, of a smoky colour ; 3. *Sonsurel*, which are yellow ; 4. *Sabênâsak*, are white ; 5. *Lelîh*, of a shining black. The abnormal increase of these sorts of worms causes continuous pains, indigestion, leanness of the body, roughness and yellow discoloration of the skin, and local irritation of the intestinal canal.

These twenty sorts of worms are mentioned in all old books of Hindi Medicine, among which I specify the following :—Bhao Parokash, part ii., para. 10. Madhava Narain Choraza, Prime Minister of King *Pathara*, has devoted a section of his work especially to this subject. Whatever people may choose to say about the discovery of bacilli and microbes as a new thing in medical science, it is quite evident that the principle of this discovery was many ages ago given in our Sanskrit books of medicine ; and the details elaborated and tabulated can be produced to prove this statement.

PUNDIT JANARDHAN.

\* It would seem that even the influenza bacillus, if such there be, was not unknown in India.—ED.



These seven kinds are white in colour, and thin in form ; they penetrate the human body, but live principally in the intestines and on their contents. They produce constipation, local pains and aches, weakness, paleness of complexion, loss of appetite, diminution of normal heat, and excessive sweating. They also cause five kinds of heart disease, which result in lunacy. Those which resemble earth-worms, especially cause both dull and acute pain in the abdomen, flatulence, inflammation and corrosion of the bowels.

The organic germs existing in the phlegmatic system and mucous discharges are :—

1. *Darbakusumas*, resembling the flowers of the sacrificial grass ; 2. *Mahâkusumas*, like a large rose-flower ; 3. *Pîlimas*, like spiders ; 4. *Chipitas*, like oyster-shells ; 5. *Pipîlikas*, like white-ants ; 6. *Dârunas*, very hard in substance. The heads of all these have a downy growth ; their bodies are spotted with brown, and they have tails. Some of them resemble small coriander sprouts or seeds, are white in colour, very small in size. They especially attack the head, destroy the fatty tissues, the eyes, the palate, and auricular organs, and cause many head diseases, which again react on the heart. Noticeable symptoms are colds, loss of normal heat, and salivation.

Organic germs existing in the blood are :—

1. *Kesaromanakhadas*, which destroy the hair, down, and nails ; 2. *Dantadas*, the teeth ; 3. *Kikvisas*, the gums ; 4. *Kuṣ'hayas*, which produce leprosy ; 5. *Parisarpas*, or spreading ill around. These germs contain blood in their organism, are dark coloured and flat, and have an oily look. From them proceed all the diseases caused by what is called impurity of the blood.

The intestinal group are produced or introduced by excess in the use of leguminaceous, farinaceous, and vegetable food in general, salt, and unclarified sugar (*gur*). The phlegm group proceed from excessive animal diet, milk, sugar, and vinegar. The blood group are caused by the use of unwholesome and indigestible food, and by mixing as articles of food substances having contrary tendencies.

When any of these three classes of organisms become multiplied to an abnormal extent, a diseased habit of body results, which appears in want of appetite, anæmia, consumption, aches, and sharp pains, heart affections, general uneasiness, diarrhœa, cholera, and other so-called epidemic diseases.

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## SOME GEOGRAPHICAL IDENTIFICATIONS IN EGYPT.

BY PROF. E. AMÉLINEAU.\*

NOTWITHSTANDING many great works published on the Geography of Egypt, some questions raised by the geography of Ancient or of Coptic Egypt still await a solution. Thus we do not yet know what Greek names answer to the Egyptian appellations of certain towns, nor, on the other hand, what are the Egyptian names of certain towns known to us under Greek forms.

There have been lengthy discussions on the situation of certain towns, and quite recently attempts have been made to identify names in a manner contrary to all that tradition had taught us regarding them, and a great stir has been made over alleged discoveries, which were to change the aspect of geographical science as far as concerns Egypt, that ancient country which still holds in reserve so many surprises for the investigations of men of learning.

For my part, I have been obliged, in conformity with the programme of the French Academy (*Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*), to study, after so many forerunners, the geography of Egypt. I have early recognized that a considerable number of errors had crept into the works of my two immortal predecessors, Champollion and Quatremère; and I have been able to rectify them by the help of new documents of which they had no knowledge. By means of these, a certain number of problems receive a definite solution. The most important of these documents is a List of the Egyptian Bishoprics, which is found in a few *scalæ*, and is yet unpublished.†

\* Translated from the French by C. H. E. Carmichael, M.A.

† Since I wrote this paper, M. J. De Rougé has published a little book on the Geography of the Delta, containing in an appendix a List of Bishoprics professedly from a MS. of the Bodleian Library, at Oxford; but,

I propose here to give briefly the results of my researches without dwelling at length on details which would be comparatively of little interest. I must, at the outset, ask permission of my colleagues to let me try and prove an opinion contrary to their own. I beg them to believe that it is without any *arrière pensée*, without any contempt for their labours, that I have begun from the beginning at a study which might have seemed already completed. If I combat the results at which my colleagues have arrived, and which do not appear to me to be definitive, I retain the greatest respect for them individually, and the greatest admiration. The truth is difficult to arrive at in everything. If I think, for my part, that I have found it, I am quite ready to condemn my own ideas, if I am proved to have been mistaken, and I promise to examine with the deepest care the arguments which may be addressed to me with that view.

### I. MENEAIATOR.

Strabo speaks of the *nome* Menelaïtes as not far from Alexandria. Much discussion has been devoted to this name without any agreement having been reached. The List of the Bishoprics of Egypt gives us precise information as to its position by giving us its capital. That capital exists to this day; it is Edkou. It gives, in fact, the following equation (*égalité*):—*Μενελιατου* = *ⲉⲃⲁⲱⲟⲣ* = *ادكوا*.

This town is placed in the List of Egyptian Bishoprics immediately after Alexandria and before Rosetta.

But was the town of Edkou really called *ⲉⲃⲁⲱⲟⲣ* in Coptic, and in Greek *Μενελιατου*? The Memphitic *scalæ*, which I used for my large work on the Geography of Egypt under the Arabs, give to the town of Edkou

unfortunately there is no such manuscript in the Bodleian, as I have ascertained a few days ago; and as the List of Bishoprics came into the possession of the author by the intervention of M. Revillout, I cannot learn where this list was taken from. I regret to say that a number of blunders have crept into the printed list in M. J. De Rougé's book.

another name, and that name is **TKWOY**. This name of **TKWOY** has given rise to the gravest errors on the part of Champollion and Quatremère. The former thought that the town of Tkôou, mentioned in the *Eulogium* (which I have edited) of Macarius, Bishop of a town of that name, is the same as the town of Edkou, and that on the strength of a misinterpreted phrase.\*

The town of **TKWOY**, spoken of in the Coptic work, is the town called by the Arabs *Qâou el-Kebir*, and it is utterly impossible that the bishop of that town should have asked for the help of the monks of Schenoudi, if that town had been on the shores of the Mediterranean, since a space of some 150 leagues would have separated the succoured from the succourer, at a time when it was most important that the help should come quickly; while if this town answers to *Qâou el-Kebir*, the distance between the temple in which Macarius was to be burned alive and the monastery of Schenoudi is only ten leagues. This explains how Visa, the disciple of Schenoudi, arrived in time to deliver Macarius.

Quatremère, again, after having first taken for a mistake the name of **TKWOY**, attributed to the town of Edkou † by the MSS. of Montpellier, has fallen into the opposite error, by maintaining that this name only meant the town of Edkou, and that the town of Qâou was called **TXWBI**.‡ It is quite true that the name **TXWBI** is rendered in Arabic by Qâou in some *scalæ*; but the *scalæ* which give the name of **TKWOY** to that same town are much the more numerous, for out of ten *scalæ* used by me, six bear **TKWOY** = **ⲧⲕⲱⲱ**, and only four the name of **TXWBI**. Moreover, the List of Egyptian Bishoprics gives also the name of **TKWOY** to the town of Antæopolis in *Qâou el-Kebir*. We see, therefore, that as regards numbers, the highest probability is in favour of the name of **TKWOY** for *Qâou el-Kebir*, all the more so because the four MSS. which have the

\* Champollion, *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 242-9.

† Quatremère, *Mém. Hist. et Geog. sur l'Egypte*, i. 216-17.

‡ *Ib.* 516.

reading **ΤΧΩΒΙ** seem to have been based on one and the same original, and the position of the town of *Qāou' el-Kebir* is wrongly given. Lastly, I would remark that if this town was really called **ΤΧΩΒΙ**, we should not have had for the first letter of the Arabic transcript the letter ق, but rather خ; so that the word **ΤΚΩΟΥ** is really the prototype of the name **قكرو**, from which the feminine article has fallen. Similarly, the name **ادكرا** descends directly from this same word **ΤΚΩΟΥ**, with preservation and previous vocalization of the article; so that the illustrious De Sacy also fell into error in thinking that this town was called **ادكرا** instead of **ادكرا**.\*

These observations show that the name of this town of Edkou is indeed **ΤΚΩΟΥ**; but then, what becomes of the name **Θβαγωυρ** given to this same town in the List of Bishoprics? To this question there is a twofold answer. Either the town of Edkou had two names, which may seem likely, but which was not the custom in the Coptic epoch: or else the names **ΤΚΩΟΥ** and **Θβαγωυρ** were those of two different towns, lying near each other, and of about equal importance, so much so that the bishopric might as well have been seated in the one as in the other; and that one of the two having somehow disappeared, the other naturally succeeded to its inheritance. Thus, if the name of Edkou did not precisely answer to the town called *Μενελαιτου* in ancient times, yet its territory was that of the *nome* Menelaïtes. I need not point out that the reading *Μενελαιτου* is a mistake for *Μενελιατου*: besides, there are but two adjoining letters to move, and we have gained for Science the fact that the *nome* Menelaïtes was on the site now occupied by the town of Edkou.

## II. ΓΑΒΑΣΕΟΣ.

The Greek name of this town corresponds with the well-known name used in the Roman *Itinerary*, Cabasa, from which is derived the name of the *nome* Cabasites. This

\* De Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte*, 660.

name was decidedly near that of  $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ , or rather, in the Sa'idic dialect,  $\kappa\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ , so much so that Champollion\* and Quatremère† simply made the two places identical. The first person to put forth this opinion was Father Georgi;‡ it seemed a very probable view to Quatremère, and Champollion had not the slightest doubt of it, for he says: "According to Ptolemy, the town of Cabasa and its dependencies lay between the Phermutiac branch and the Great River; *i.e.*, the Canopic branch, in Egyptian, Schetnoufi. In fact, there exists, at some distance from the Rosetta (or Canopic) branch, a town (*bourg*) which still bears among the Arabs the name of Kabas,§ and which is situated about four leagues south of the town of Foueh." And immediately he adds, "The Egyptian name of Cabas was  $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$  in the dialect of Memphis." ||

This opinion has again recently come to the front, thanks to M. de Rochemanteix, who considers Schabas, or  $\kappa\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma\alpha$  as the plural of  $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ .¶ I need not demonstrate the inanity of this last opinion; there is, in fact, between the two words only the resemblance of one letter, and that comes too near the etymologies laughed at by Voltaire.

Nevertheless, it would have been easy, at least for Quatremère, who knew it, to have known that in the *Synaxare*, a Coptic martyrology, the name of  $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$  corresponded with  $\text{اقنيس}$ , which is the exact transcript of the word  $\chi\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$  or  $\kappa\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ . If he had afterwards searched the *Etat de l'Egypte*, he would have seen that this village, which still exists, was to be found there in the province of Behnésa, as it is now in the province of Minieh, district of Feschn, which is hardly a suitable place for a town which ought to be found between Pténétô and El-Baschrout, or El-Scharout, as the *scalæ* place it, for the *nome* of Pténétô had its centre

\* Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. 234.

† Quatremère, *op. cit.* i. 148.

‡ Georgi, *De Miraculis S. Coluthi*, p. cxciv.

§ Champollion, *Ib.* 234. He cites a MS. map of Father Sicard and D'Anville, *Mém. sur l'Egypte*, 79.

|| Champollion, *op. cit.* 234.

¶ *Journ. Asiat.* 1887, July-Aug. p. 146, n. 1.

in the modern district of Desouq, as I said afterwards. Thus, Champollion and Quatremère had carried it to Northern Egypt, as the classical texts obliged them. It is not permissible, nowadays, to entertain the smallest doubt as to the town called by the Greeks and Romans Cabasa; the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt, indeed, furnishes us with the following equation (*égalité*):—*Γαβασεος* = **TRAKI** **ΧΑΛΙΑCEN** = شباس سنهور. From which we see that if the **x** was sometimes pronounced after a local fashion, the ش represented a sibilant (*chuintante*), it was more often pronounced *dj*; and the Greeks and Romans, not possessing that letter in their alphabet, rendered it by the hard *g*, or the hard *c*, which is very like it. The town of Schâbas still exists on the spot which Champollion rightly assigned to it, in the province of Gharbyah, and district of Kafr-ez-zaiât.

### III. *AGNOR*.

Strabo speaks of this town also, when he says: "After the Bolbitic branch a sandy promontory stretches afar; it is called the Horn of Agnou." Then he gives its neighbourhood by saying, "Afterwards come the Tower of Perseus and the Wall of the Milesians."

Down to the present day, the identification of this town had remained unknown. The List of the Bishoprics of Egypt permits this identification, for it contains the following equation:—*Αγνου* = **ΠΙΣΧΙΝΙΟΥ** = نستراوة. Thus we are at once made acquainted with the Coptic and Arabic names of the town which the Greeks called *Αγνου*. The Coptic name, Pischiniou, was known to Champollion, who had no great trouble in identifying it with Nesteraouh\*; but he did not know the Greek name. A passage in the work of the Arab geographer Aboulfeda gives us the exact position of this town: "If one leaves Damietta and follows the sea-board towards the west, one passes Bourlos, then Nesteraouh, then Raschid or Rosetta."†

\* Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. 226-37.

† Aboulfeda, *Descr. de l'Égypte*, pp. 298 and 230 of the Arabic text.

Ibn Haukal determines its position still better, and what he says of it may be read in the supplementary note which Silvestre de Sacy has added to his *Etat de l'Egypte*.\* It was at that time the capital of a small province which embraced the shores of Lake Borlos and of the Mediterranean. It disappeared at a later date, though it still existed at the end of the seventeenth century, since Vansleb mentions it.† Lake Borlos has, in fact, encroached upon the adjacent shores, and swallowed up the town.

#### IV. ΗΛΕΑΡΧΙΑ.

This name, which has given rise to considerable controversy, is made easy of identification, thanks yet again to the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt. That list gives us the following equation:—*Ηλεαρχια* (the reading in the list is *Ηλειαρχια*) = *πρωαρωτ* = *الشرط*. The place is next after the town of Agnou which was Nesteraoueh, and before Nikétou or Singar, which precedes Borlos. Consequently it must have been situated at no great distance from the ancient lake of Borlos. The *scalæ* also mention it, and place it between Djapasen and Parallou or Borlos, giving it the name of El-Baschrout, reduplicating the article, or El-Baschlout, a new form of almost concurrent use of “r” with “l,” to render an indefinite (*indécise*) articulation between the two articulations represented by that Egyptian letter.

Champollion knew this name, *πρωαρωτ*, and has placed the village which he marked between Daqaleh and Damietta.‡ He thus falls into very considerable error, since the town of Damietta, like Daqaleh, formed part of the third ecclesiastical province of Egypt, while Pischarôt belonged to the first, that is to say, the province of Alexandria. Quatremère, on the other hand, has discussed at great length the position of Elearchia, and has the following remarks thereon: “I have suggested (*insinué*) in my

\* De Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte*, cf. 669, 707-S.

† Vansleb, *Hist. de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*, 24.

‡ Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. p. 136-137.

paper that perhaps the Baschmour extended westward of the branch of Damietta as far as Lake Borlos." \*

He had previously said, "The country of Elearchia, or of the Bucolics, as it has been described to us by the ancient writers, is if I mistake not, absolutely identical with the province of Baschmour." † I have not got to connect the two questions, I only desire to establish the position of Elearchia. This word, which means Marsh Province, was suited to a country lying between the Phatmetic branch of the Nile, and the sea-shore.‡ It was divided into two parts, one of which was under the town of Pakhnemunis, and the other under the town of Phragonis. Now, according to Ptolemy, Pakhnemunis was the capital of the *nome* of Lower Sebennis, and Phragonis is the town which the Egyptians called Farrahin, and which, together with Tida, was situated in the modern district of Kafr-esch-scheikh, province of Gharbyeh. Therefore, the Elearchia comprised the whole country bordering on the Lake of Borlos, north and east, and that is where Pischarôt must be placed. Consequently, Quatremère, who arrived at very nearly the same result, has carried somewhat too far the limits of this province, when seeking to include in it the *nome* of Nimeschôti, and the town (*bourg*) of Naïsi, which corresponds to the *Isœum* of the ancients. This canton of Nimeschôti must have meant Low-lands, like its name in Arabic, *Asfal el-Ardh*; although these low-lands perhaps became marshes, the name which has been given them distinguishes them clearly from the lands of Elearchia.

The town of Pischarôt, by its place in the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt between other towns, all of which appear to have been situated on the Lake of Borlos, seems to me to have been likewise near that lake, and to the south rather than to the north of it. At the present day it has disappeared, for the marsh lands which border the

\* Quatremère, *op. cit.* i. p. 233.

† Hierocles, 726. Quatremère, *ibid.*

‡ Ptolemy, iv. 5.



lake have increased greatly since the Moslem, and especially the Turkish, conquest.

### V. NIKETOT.

This town is placed by the List of Bishoprics between Borlos and El-Scharout, *i.e.*, between the town situated on the Lake of Borlos, the capital of that country, and Elearchia, or the Canton of the Marshes. We have for this name the following equation:—*NIKETOT* = *πρωτοχειρον* = *سنكچار*. Champollion \* and Quatremère † have confused this town with another, which was called in Egyptian *conḏār*, and they have made this town of *conḏār* the seat of a bishopric, following Vansleb, who indeed cites Singar, and rightly so, as the seat of an ancient bishopric. But this town of Singar (*sic*) cannot, I think, be confounded with Pischenkherou. The two names differ so much, that they may be regarded as separate places; on the other hand, the position assigned, by the *scala* which contains this name, to the town of Songar between Samannoud and Damietta, would scarcely suit the town which the other *scalæ* mentioning Pischenkherou place between Abiar and Birma, *i.e.*, in the province of Béhérah or in that of Gharbyeh, pretty nearly at the point where those two provinces meet. But the List of Bishoprics does not permit us to place it there, since it ranks it in the first ecclesiastical province, and the position given by the other *scalæ* would be too southerly. We must therefore place it near the Lake Borlos of antiquity, and that position explains how it has disappeared by reason of the advance of the waters of the lake. The *Etat de l'Egypte*, edited by Silvestre de Sacy, in fact, places it in the province of Nesteraoueh. But are we compelled to say that there were not two towns of that name in Egypt? I am far from claiming this, and the fact of the existence of two towns of the same name in Egypt is a well-known fact which it is impossible to deny; but if

\* Champollion, *op. cit.* ii., p. 233.

† Quatremère, *op. cit.* i., p. 279.

there were two towns of this name, the second has disappeared, and has left no trace of its existence, beyond its name.

## VI. ΠΤΕΝΕΤΩ.

The name of this *nome*, which corresponds with that of the *nome* Phthenotites of the classical authors, has given rise to numerous debates. Quatremère has identified the town of Πτενετω with the name Tantouà cited in the *Etat de l'Egypte*\*; but if this identification is correct, that learned author has not pointed out where Tantouà was situated, since the *Etat de l'Egypte* does not show this any more plainly than by placing the town in the province of Gharbyeh, the most extensive of all in the Delta. Champollion,† on the other hand, has identified the town of Pténétô with the town so celebrated under the name of Bouto, situated, according to Herodotus, at the mouth of the old Sebennytic branch, and according to Ptolemy, between the Canopic and Sebennytic branches.‡ This great authority is therefore utterly wrong, and I will proceed to prove it.

Pliny the Elder says that the *nome* of Pténéthu had Bouto for its capital. That is not a reason for identifying Pténétô with Bouto. It was often the case in Ancient Egypt that certain towns which had at first given their names to the *nomes* of which they were the capital (and all the names of *nomes* were originally names of towns, except at a certain date) afterwards lost their importance, on account of the rise of some other and more lucky town, which became the capital in its stead, and also lost their rank without the name of the *nome* being changed. The most striking example of this is the case of the town of ΤΚΕΖΛΙ, in Arabic Daqaleh, which gave its name to the province of Daqahlyeh, and which is now only a small village. Nevertheless, the capital of the *nome* Phthenotites,

\* Quatremère, *op. cit.* i. 385-6. † Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. 227-9.

‡ Plinius.

*i.e.*, Bouto, will help us to know the position of that town, when I shall have shown the situation of Pténétô.

The *scalæ* which have preserved this name place it between Schâbas, and Nesteraoueh or between Schabas and Danouscher, and only separated from the town of Nesteraoueh by Danouscher and Edkou. This position is true (*juste*), but far from being exact (*précise*). The List of Bishoprics places it after Borlos and before a bishopric which has no Greek or Arabic name, and which has now disappeared, that of Petrefschi. It is indeed in the same region, but the site is not given with the precision which might have been desired. The *Acts* of a martyr, Didymus of Tarschébi, tell us that the Greek town Tarschébi was in the *nome* of Pténétô.\* Now the village of Tarschébi, which has become Darschaba in Arabic, is to be found in the district of Desouq, province of Gharbyeh. Towards the close of these *Acts*, mention is made of the villages of Koprit, Tiamrô and Psaradous, two of which still survive in the names of Kabrit and Demrou. Psaradous has now disappeared, but at the end of the fourteenth century it was still mentioned in the *Etat de l'Egypte*.† Of these three villages, the first two are in the district of Desouq, and I do not doubt that the village which has disappeared should also be placed in that district. Thus we have the position of the *nome* of Pténétô well defined, and the position we obtained is altogether different from that assigned to it by Champollion, as may be seen on the map which he drew up himself, and which he placed at the beginning of his book, since he marks it on the east of Lake Borlos, while in point of fact it lay to the south of that lake.

This position enables us also to assign the place of Bouto, which Pliny made the capital of the *nome* Pténétô. We have seen above that the *nome* Menelaïtes bounded the *nome* Pténétô on the north; on the east it was bounded by the *nome* Sebennytis Inferior, on the south by the Saitic *nome*.

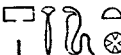


\* Hyvernat, *Actes des Martyrs de l'Egypte*, 387.

† De Sacy, *op. cit.* 643.

It was therefore clearly defined. Consequently, if the testimony of Pliny the Elder be true, Bouto must be placed in the small space occupied by the *nome* Pténétô, in that same district of Desouq of which I have already spoken. But what becomes, then, of the testimony of Herodotus, when he says that this town was situated at the mouth of the Sebennytic branch? To this testimony may be opposed, firstly, the combined witness of Ptolemy and Strabo. The former places the town of Bouto in  $61^{\circ} 30' \text{ E. longitude}$ , and  $30^{\circ} 4' \text{ N. latitude}$ . He gives the situation of Bouto, if possible, still more precisely, when he says that this town lay between the Great River and the River Taly, west of the Great River, between Métélis and Cabasa; and in fact it was so near the latter town, that the figures given for its position are exactly the same.\* I know very well that we must not place much reliance on the figures of Ptolemy, for Heaven knows how far they may not have been altered by transcribers; but these figures are explained (*commentés*) by the text, which affirms that this town lay between Métélis and Cabasa. Now Métélis is Foueh, and Cabasa as we have seen, is Schâbas. Métélis lay to the north and Cabasa to the south, in an almost straight line perpendicularly drawn from the one to the other. Half-way lies that very district of Desouq where I believe Pténétô should be placed. Strabo, for his part, says: "After the Bolbitine mouth a sandy promontory stretches out for some distance; it is called the Horn of Agnou. Then come the Tower of Perseus and the Wall of the Milesians. After the wall of the Milesians, as we advance towards the Sebennytic mouth, there are some lakes, one of which is called the Lake Bouto, from the town of Bouto; then come the town of Sebennytis and Sais, the metropolis of the Lower Region, where Minerva is worshipped. . . . In the neighbourhood of Bouto is situated Hermopolis."† This text is

\* Ptolemy, *Geog.*, ed. 1605, 105, 106.

† Strabo, xvii. 18.

in formal contradiction with that of Herodotus, by placing Bouto in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis. Now Hermopolis is Damanhour, and the *nome* of Pténétô borders on the district of Damanhour. I further believe that the town of Bouto, in Coptic **ΠΟΥΤΟ**, still survives. In Old Egyptian this town was called  Pa-ouat'it, whence by contraction **ΠΟΥΤΟ**, as  has given rise to **ΠΟΥΣΙΡΙ**, and  Pa-Beset, has given rise to **ΠΟΥΑΣΤΙ**. Now, in the Arabic transcriptions we have to remark that a composite name may take a vowel before the first letter; according to this, **ΠΟΥΤΟ** would in Arabic become *أبتو*. The village of Abtou is still to be found in the place formerly occupied by the *nome* of Pténétô, in the same district of Desouq. The coincidence is remarkable, and I, for my part, am persuaded that the name Abtou represents **ΠΟΥΤΟ**.

But if so, what becomes of the statement of Herodotus? That statement will appear still more singular to us if we examine what he says of the mouths of the Nile. According to him, the Nile had three principal mouths, the Canopic on the west, the Pelusiatic on the east, and the Sebennytic in the centre; then two others, which branch off from the third and which bear the names of Saitic and Mendesian. Then he adds: "The Bolbitine and Bucolic are not natural (mouths); they are canals which have been excavated by man."\* From this it might be concluded that the Sebennytic mouth passed through the middle of the Delta to Djemmouti, or Sebennytus, which gave name to it, and consequently that it was identical with that which the Copts called the Middle, or Phatmetic, mouth (**ΦΑΘΜΗΤ**), now called the Damietta mouth. Herodotus, in fact, says that the Sebennytic mouth, starting from the angle of the Delta, cuts through the middle of it, and falls into the sea, into which it pours a quantity of water which is neither the

\* Herodotus, ii. 17.

least in volume nor the least renowned.\* The Bolbitine branch is known, it is the Rosetta branch; and the same is the case with the Mendesian branch. There remain the Bucolic and Saïtic mouths. The former of these is named after the pastures in the marshes through which it passes; now we know that these famous marshes were identical with Elearchia, and were in the neighbourhood of Lake Borlos. The latter has never had any substantive existence, and only owes its apparent existence to a copyist's error in writing Saïs instead of Tanis; for the Tanitic branch, which existed as far back as the Seventeenth Dynasty,† is the only one which is not named by Herodotus. We are, therefore, on this side of the question, brought back to the same result, viz., that the Damietta branch was that which is called by Herodotus the Sebennytic, because the town of Sebennytis was the most important on its course. Now, how could the town of Bouto be situated on that branch? It is utterly impossible. We must confess that the Greek author, writing from notes taken in his travels, grievously erred, either through his memory failing him, or because his notes were out of their proper order; or else the transcribers made a mistake in copying out the text of the Father of History.

What seems to have lent a considerable colour of truth to his assertion is the mistake which was made between the Sebennytic branch and that which Strabo calls by that name, and which Herodotus called the Bucolic branch. This branch started from Sebennytis, and one can quite understand its being called Sebennytic. After this we might well think that it was on this Bucolic branch that the town of Bouto was situated. Thus understood, the words of Herodotus might be accurate, for the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt mentions two towns of the same name yielding the following equations:—1. *Λεωντων* = *ΠΟΥΤΟ-ΚΕΘΗΡΣ* = (*sic*) *نطو وترس*; 2. *Παχνομενος* = *ΚΒΟΥΤΟΘΕΡΟΣ* (*sic*), without any corresponding Arabic form. It is much

\* Herodotus, *ubi supra*.

† De Rougé, *Inscription d'Ahhmes*.

to be regretted that the town of Tirsā, or Tersy, no longer exists, for we should have had a touchstone for recognizing the position of this town of Bouto, which formed one diocese with Tirsā. Moreover, the identification of Pakhenumis with another Bouto would make the existence of two towns of Bouto certain, the former situated in the modern district of Desouq, while the latter was the capital of the *nome Sebennytes Inferior*.

However this may be, the results of the present investigation are none the less full of significance for the study of Egyptian geography, and it is certain that the *nome* of Pténétô was situated in the modern district of Desouq, and that this *nome* had for its capital a town called Bouto, the celebrated town which contained an oracle of Latona, according to Strabo, viz., the sanctuary of Dap. We thus see what help the List of the Bishoprics of Egypt may render to Egyptian geography. This is only a small portion of the results to which it has given rise. It also gives us information as to the existence of Pharouat; as to the Greek name of the town of Psalsiné, *i.e.*, *Cleopatris*; as to the name of the second town of Leontôn, *i.e.*, Nathô; as to the town called *Diospolis Inferior* by the ancients, and Pounemou in Coptic, and El-Qalmoun in Arabic; as to the existence of three towns called Apollonopolis, one of which is called in Coptic Sfehet, the second Qosqam, and the third Edfou; as to the Greek name of Qous-varvir, which was Diocletianopolis, etc.

It may suffice to merely indicate these results, which I have developed more fully in my work on the Geography of Egypt in the Coptic Age. I must now examine into another question, much debated of late, and show why I think that the true solution for it has not yet been found.

## VII. HEROOPOLIS.

The site of this town is well known, from the fact that the ancient writers have instructed us very accurately on the point, by placing it near the Red Sea, at the mouth of

the Canal which joined the Nile to that Sea ; but the name has been very differently understood.

Champollion thought that the town of Avaris was the same as Heroopolis, and placed it at Abou Keysched.\* † I am unable to admit the identity of Avaris with Heroopolis. Avaris, according to the inscriptions of the Seventeenth Dynasty, does indeed appear to have been situated in one of the Deltas of Ptolemy, where there were navigable canals (*pour manœuvrer*), which could not be the case with a town situated at the mouth of the canal uniting the two seas. Quatremère has, in fact, proved that this town should be placed on the Wady Toumilat. He has also pronounced in favour of Abou Keysched, but has rejected the identification of Avaris with Heroopolis, in which he is quite right.† Moreover, D'Anville has arrived at the same conclusion.‡

Such was the position of the question when, in 1883, M. Naville carried out those excavations in the neighbourhood now called Tell el-Maskoutah, which the French engineers had called Ramses, after the *savants* of the *Commission d'Égypte*, and where they had established their headquarters. He discovered two inscriptions which proved to him that he was indeed on the site of the town of Heroopolis, since the one was a miliary stone showing eight miles from that town to Klysma.§ M. Naville has identified this town with the city of Pithom, built by the captive Israelites, herein contradicting the *savants* of the *Commission d'Égypte*, who identified it with Ramses. With all respect for the labours of my friends, my colleagues, and masters, it is the *Commission d'Égypte* which is right, from my point of view, and M. Naville who is wrong. I will now try and prove this.

If we pay attention to the manner in which the Greeks rendered the names of Egyptian towns, we may notice


\* Champollion, *op. cit.* ii. 87-92. † Quatremère, *op. cit.* i. 167-70.


‡ D'Anville, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*.

§ E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, pl. xi.



that either they have given names which simply transliterated the Egyptian names,—or they have tried to give an equivalent of the Egyptian names,—or they have only given a Greek termination to Egyptian names. The first method is remarkable in the cases of the towns of Atrib, Tmoui, Tanatô, and many others. In the second case, the towns of Apollo, Hermes, Diocletian, Theodosius, and others like these, prove that the Greeks gave to certain towns the names of the emperors, for certain causes, of which we are not aware, or which we may imagine; or else tried to make out what were the nearest divinities in the Greek religion to the Egyptian gods whose worship gave them the leading idea of the town which they wanted to indicate, as Diospolis, Hermopolis, Heliopolis, Heracleopolis, etc.

We see at once that the name Heroopolis has not simply a Greek termination, and that it cannot be assigned to some Greek god who might have been worshipped in that town, since the Greek Pantheon contains no Hero or Heroo as a god. Nor can we dream of a hybrid name, for the Greeks never took up with that way of naming a town; and, further, if the name of the god Horus seems at first sight to approach the name Heroopolis, the name of that god could never have been written Hero or Heroo, but Hor or Har in a composite name. We cannot therefore accept this. There remains the last category, which, like the names of Latopolis, the town of the peasant Latus, or the perch, of Phagroriopolis, the town of the peasant called Phagrorion by the Greeks, translates exactly the Egyptian name or some Egyptian speciality. No town name escapes this threefold classification, not even that of Khinoboskion (*Χηνοβόσκιον*), which is the exact translation of *WENECHT*, the Coptic name derived from the hieroglyphic name into the composition of which entered, as its first part, the verb , which means "to fatten up" (*engraisser*). The name of Heroöpolis, or, as it was written by the amateur soldier in his leisure hours, Eropolis, Erocastra, has just the meaning of town of heroes or of heroic things. The classic

authors expressly mark the excellence of this etymology, when they write ἡρώπολις or ἡρώπολις. We have, then, to find in the nomenclature of the ancient Egyptian towns a name with this signification. Such a name is not difficult to find, it is the town of Ramses, the great city of valour or of heroic things, āā-naχtou. The name  in fact means exactly the same thing as Heroöpolis. The principal argument of M. Naville in favour of his identification of Heroöpolis with Pithom, is that the town of Heroopolis had a temple dedicated to Toum, and called Pa-toum. But this name should, perhaps, not be read as M. Naville has read it, the ideogram of the god may be differently read. Further, even if this name of Patoum was the sacred name of the town, it might have had another more ordinary name, and that name was Ramses, the great (city) of valour, Heroopolis. The case of two towns in Egypt being called by the same sacred name is not rare, but the ordinary name has consecrated another form. Besides, nothing can overthrow (*aller contre*) the statements in the Roman Itinerary, which place Thou or Thoum before Heroöpolis.

## NOTES ON THE KABYLE LANGUAGE.

BY DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, M.R.A.S., F.S.A.

THE Kabyles are a people of Berber origin, inhabiting the Djurdjura mountains in Algeria, and also the country south of Cherchel (the Julia Cæsarea of the Romans), and the borders of the Metidja plain, which stretches away to the foot of the Atlas range. They were named by the Arabs from Arabic *Kabā'il*, plural of *Kabīlah*, tribe, race, family.

The Kabyles are quite a different nation from the Arabs, being more fit for social progress, and of more laborious habits. Our Consul-General, Colonel Playfair, says one can trace among their customs the traditions of Roman law and municipal institutions, and that one frequently meets among them types, easily recognizable, of the Latin and German races. The fact is, many of them have without doubt intermarried with political and other refugees who sought their hospitality. The Kabyle language (*Thakabailith*), is of Berber origin, and is not only spoken in the country inhabited by the Kabyles, but also in the highlands of Mount Atlas, towards Algiers, and in the province of Constantine, in which I have travelled. It is an unwritten language, but there is a grammar by Hansteau (Alger, 1858), a dictionary by Le P. Olivier (Le Puy, 1878); and Sadi Hamet has translated into Kabyle the Book of Genesis and the Four Gospels for the Bible Society. The language varies more or less between tribe and tribe, and between village and village; and even in different parts of the same village different words and expressions are used to denote the same thing. Nevertheless, in spite of these variations and different dialects, the basis of the language is the same, and the different tribes are all able to understand each other. The dialects are named Buji, Shieha, Tamazihl, Beni-Menassar, and Gadamsi.

The Kabyle contains some words which have an affinity to the dialects anciently spoken in the islands of Teneriffe, Gran Canaria, Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, Gomera, Palma, and Ferro (Hierro). It has also borrowed or formed a very large number of words from the Arabic. I will give a few of them: Sadi, sidna, lord, is from *sayyid*; Imelh, salt, from *milh*; thikant'arth, a bridge, from *kantara*; râud, thunder, from *raâd*; ah'ma, hot, from *hâmî*; lkafer, heathen, from *kâfir*; lkursi, chair, from *kursî*; dukan, tobacco, from *dukhân*; ruz, rice, from *ruz*; lfel, pepper, from *fulful*; shariî, gentleman, from *sharîf*; lkadi, judge, from *kâdî*; shit'an and iblis, Satan, from *shaytan* and *ablis*. They have also borrowed or formed words from the French; as lgraf, telegraph, from *télégraphe*; eboulis, police, from *police*; lkognac, brandy, from *cognac*; t'abla, table, from *table*; lgazêta, a gazette, from *la gazette*; lfitsian, office, from *officier*; lbureau, bureau, from *le bureau*. With regard to the alphabet, I may note that *g* and *k* are sometimes pronounced softly; *h* is always aspirated; *kh* is pronounced like *j* in the Spanish name José; *r'* corresponds to the French lisping *r*; and *th* is pronounced as in English. The language has no article. When they borrow a noun from the Arabic, they frequently borrow the Arabic article also, but usually drop the vowel; thus *lkadi*, *lkursi*, *lkafer*. They do the same in borrowing words from the French; as *lgazêl'a*, *lbureau*.

In nouns, the initial *th* is generally the characteristic sign of the feminine gender. Names ending in *a*, plural, *ath*, are also generally feminine; as *lked'ma*, work. The plural of regular nouns is generally shortened, as *afellah*, labourer, plural *ifellah'en* for *ifellah-ien*. The vocables *bab*, *bou*, in the plural *ath*, before certain nouns is equivalent to master, possessor, the man; as *bab boukham*, the master of the house; *bou chamarth*, the man with the long beard; *ath lâkel*, intelligent men. I conclude with a short list of Kabyle words, those borrowed or corrupted from the

Arabic being marked by the letter A; those from the French by the letter F.

Kabyle.	English.	Kabyle.	English.
<i>akham</i>	house	<i>asammadh</i>	cold
<i>lmelh' (A)</i>	salt	<i>anzad'</i>	hair
<i>shakof</i>	ship	<i>amallal</i>	white
<i>thalefsa</i>	viper	<i>abarkan</i>	black
<i>al'ram</i>	camel	<i>amokran</i>	great
<i>thikan'arth (A)</i>	bridge	<i>lfil (A)</i>	elephant
<i>ar'iul</i>	ass	<i>izam</i>	lion
<i>thafunasth</i>	cow	<i>annamar (A)</i>	tiger
<i>ud'i</i>	butter	<i>l'khal</i>	vinegar
<i>ar'rum</i>	bread	<i>azzith (A)</i>	oil
<i>aâudiu</i>	horse	<i>askriou (A)</i>	soldier
<i>bunadem</i>	man	<i>abah're (A)</i>	sailor
<i>thama'p'uth</i>	woman	<i>lkahua (A)</i>	coffee
<i>lgraf (F)</i>	telegraph	<i>el bira (F)</i>	beer
<i>lfitsian (F)</i>	officer	<i>shi'an (A)</i>	devil
<i>ithbir</i>	pigeon	<i>afruk'h</i>	bird
<i>thithbirth</i>	dove	<i>aslam</i>	fish
<i>aâkub</i>	field	<i>annâma (A)</i>	ostrich
<i>thafsuth</i>	spring (season)	<i>abrak</i>	duck
<i>anabâ'u</i>	summer	<i>ilef</i>	pig
<i>lkharif (A)</i>	autumn	<i>ikerri</i>	sheep
<i>shathua (A)</i>	winter	<i>afah'li</i>	bull
<i>lbasal (A)</i>	onion	<i>amkan lma-</i>	
<i>el lafth (A)</i>	turnip	<i>halla (A)</i>	camp
<i>l'tarkuk (A)</i>	prune (plum)	<i>thashammath</i>	candle
<i>âmmi (A)</i>	uncle (paternal)	<i>(A)</i>	
<i>khali (A)</i>	uncle (maternal)	<i>l'r'eri (A)</i>	glue
<i>amnzian</i>	small	<i>lbah'ai (A)</i>	sea
<i>akjun</i>	dog	<i>lmâd'en (A)</i>	mine (subterra- nean)
<i>amshish</i>	cat	<i>adhu</i>	wind
<i>thazarth</i>	fig	<i>lboulis (F)</i>	police
<i>tsamar (A)</i>	date (the fruit)	<i>uzzal</i>	iron
<i>tsafah' (A)</i>	apple	<i>anna'as (A)</i>	brass
<i>ass</i>	day	<i>dahab (A)</i>	gold
<i>thatshinâts</i>	mange	<i>lfe't'a (A)</i>	silver
<i>rasas (A)</i>	lead	<i>ad'r'ar' (A)</i>	stone
<i>liaman (F)</i>	diamond	<i>idh</i>	night
<i>ad'fel</i>	snow	<i>sidi, sidna (A)</i>	sir
<i>lahua</i>	rain	<i>lkognac (F)</i>	brandy
<i>râud (A)</i>	thunder	<i>aggur</i>	moon
<i>lbrak (A)</i>	lightning	<i>lkaf'la (A)</i>	caravan
<i>agris</i>	ice	<i>ar'arbal (A)</i>	sieve
<i>ah'mu (A)</i>	hot		

Kabyle.	English.	Kabyle.	English.
<i>lkafur</i> (A)	camphor	<i>shrab</i> (A)	wine
<i>ithri</i>	star	<i>aman</i> (pl.)	water
<i>i'ij</i>	sun	<i>rabbi</i> (A) }	God
<i>lmādenus</i>	parsley	<i>allah</i> (A) }	
<i>lkura n dunith</i>	globe (the)	<i>asif</i>	river
(A)		<i>agulmin</i>	lake
<i>ajad'id</i>	new	<i>thajara</i>	tree
<i>akad'im</i> (A)	old	<i>thizgui</i>	forest
<i>baba</i> (A)	father	<i>äifki</i>	milk
<i>imma</i> (A)	mother	<i>thaddarth</i>	village
<i>ammi</i>	son	<i>thamd'int</i>	town
<i>illi</i>	daughter	<i>agman</i>	mountain

## POLYNESIAN RACES AND LINGUISTICS.

BY DR. EMIL SCHNEIDER.

THE Polynesian races, sometimes called Kanakas, inhabit the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Their relatives are found on the island of Madagascar in Eastern Continental Africa, in that region which may be considered as the Ophir of Solomon, and among the Navajoes living on the western frontier of the United States, between California and Arizona. How the Incas of Peru and the Aztecs of Mexico were related to them, we have not to investigate at present. Between the American and Australasian continents, from the Arctic to the Antarctic ice-mountains, more than 10,000 islands are situated, some high, beautiful, rich, of volcanic origin, but most of them small, barren coral reefs, only yielding cocoa-nut, bananas, bread-fruit, and abundant fish.

The highest active volcano on earth, Maunaloa, 14,000 feet above sea-level, and the snow-covered Maunakilea, 18,700 feet, are found on the paradisiacal island of Hawai, where all climates of the globe are represented. The immense extent of the water surface between the different island groups and their insulation account for the great variety of dialects in the Polynesian languages, of which there are fifty-nine.

Some differ from others only in the use of *k* instead of *t*, and *r* instead of *l*; while others are as far different as English is from German. As a general rule, Polynesians have no ear for the sound of consonants; they never use more than eleven and never a double one: they do without them as much as possible. If they try to pronounce *man-of-war*, which, according to their understanding, signifies ship as well as sailor, merchant-man and whaler, often a robber and kidnapper in former days, you only hear the vowels a-o-a, (the latter in the broad German pronunciation that

prevails through the Pacific), and in such rapid succession, that you hardly can find out what it means.

Polynesian and Malayan are often grouped together, because they are nearest neighbours on the world's surface. It is true that Malayan words, filtered through Micronesian and Melanesian channels, have been received into Polynesian dialects; but they are foreign words, as are the many which we had to introduce in our Bible translations, very often for tribes that, with their dialects, are dying away into oblivion. As different as the Kanaka is from the Malay in form, figure, and complexion, so much is his language different and original, more related to the Aryan family than to any other.

The migration of the Polynesian races went probably across a sunken continent (Lemur) from an Indian Aryan home. The names of Saaba, Savai, Java, Hawai, seem to be identical in their origin. Polynesian tales and songs contain references to Hebrew traditions. Paumakea is the Noah of the Old Testament. His landing in Hawai is related as follows:—

Lol, the goddess of earth, was betrothed to Lono,\* the king of heaven. They loved each other tenderly. Lono's kingdom was very large. He had to go to war against Atua (night, darkness), and to visit all his provinces. Sunbeams were his greeting and kisses to Lol. During his absence Prince Wan (sea, ocean) tried to win beautiful Lol to himself. But she rejected him and was faithful to Lono, her bridegroom. Wan brought rich presents: corals, pearls, silver, gold, and precious stones, for his were all the treasures of the depths. Lol did not accept them, and they still lie scattered round the islands. Then he tried to submerge the land by his waves, but Lol's fortresses resisted victoriously. Finally he came in the darkness of night, with Lono's mantle of stars (the reflection of the starry heaven in a calm sea), speaking Lono's

\* The same name was given to Captain Cook on his first visit to Hawai where he was worshipped as a god, but killed at his second landing in Kekeahula Bay, 1778.



language. Lol was deceived, thought it was her bridegroom, and let him in. When Lono returned and heard what had happened, he became very angry. In a great war he beat Wan, whose hair turned white with fear and trembling (the foam of the waves). Lol, for shame, sank to the bottom of the sea, and all men were drowned except Paumakea, the friend of Lono, who built a big canoe for himself and his family, to sail on the waves. When Lol got her firstborn son, she called him Hawai. His breast was red and burning with his mother's love, like the flames of Maunaloa (the volcano); his head touched heaven (the mountain Maunakilea, always covered with snow, ice, and thunder-clouds). There Lono rested sometimes to show that his wrath was gone; and Paumakea, the ancestor of all Polynesians or Kanakas, landed here. The Kanakas (men, friends) now spread over all the different islands, divided at Fiji; some went to Maoriland, some to Samoa, some to Birari. Lono made a covenant with Paumakea, as witnesses to which there are always many beautiful rainbows round Hawai. The languages of his children are different, but after a little while they can understand each other, because they have the same father.

As a curious incident of Aryan relationship, we may state that Normans and Kanakas call the Ursa Major by the same name and give it the same signification, though on the low coral islands there never had been a waggon and it is impossible to find the slightest resemblance to a canoe in the constellation. Since thousands of years, the *waka*=*wagn* of the Icelanders, *waen* of Anglo-Saxons, *wae* of Micronesians, stand for Odin's or Karl's waggon. The root is the Hawaiian *wa*, with the original meaning of division, opening, distance, in time and space; hence origin of thought and language. The same word and meaning exist in Samoan, Tahiti, Markesas. Raratonga, *wa*=wonder; *wae*=divide, break, separate; *wae-na*=field, that is fenced in, garden, in the middle; *wa-nae*=leg, foot; *waa*, *waha*=opening, mouth, cave; *maenga*=division; *ma-wae*=to

divide; *wa-i-masina*=division between two moons, moonless night, new moon; *wa-i-palolo*=time for catching palolo (fish); *wa-nu*=valley, cañon, abyss. Fiji: *wa-se*=to divide. Sanscrit: *vaka*=scull; *vakra*, crooked; *van'ka*, the windings of a river; *vaktra*, mouth; *vacha*, word.

It seems that here the root *wa*, preserved in Hawaian, was lost in Sanscrit. Latin: *vaco*, to be empty; *vacuum*, emptiness (Sanskrit: *vaj*); *vox*, voice; *voco*, I call. Gothic: *wegas*, the waves. Old High German: *waga*, a cradle. Anglo-Saxon: *waeg*, wave. *Waa*, *waen*, *wan*, *van* have in different Polynesian and Micronesian dialects the meaning of canoe; *waka*, raft; Sanscrit: *vaha*. Latin: *vas*, *vasa*, *veho*, *vehiculum*, *via*. German: *wahn*, *wagen*, *weg*. Zend: *vaca*, waggon.

The migrating Polynesians, never having seen the original waggon, still brought, in the names of their stars, a remembrance of their old home to these distant islands, thus showing their relationship to their brethren far north.

## GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE *versus* NEW-FOUNDLAND.

### A TRIANGULAR DUEL—AN IMPOSSIBLE ARBITRATION.

*"In 1713, in 1783, and even in 1814 and 1815, the French shore was almost completely uninhabited. By the terms of the Treaties made at those epochs it ought to have remained uninhabited."* M. Flourens (ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs) in the French Chamber, 19th January, 1890.

*"Arbitration appears now to be the only method to which resort can be had, if a plain and authoritative definition is required of the extent and nature of the rights secured to France by the Treaties."* Lord Salisbury to the British Ambassador at Paris, 24th September, 1890.

*"The continued existence of the French right upon the coast of Newfoundland is anomalous and intolerable."* The Delegates from the people of Newfoundland to the Colonial Office, 31st May, 1890.

A little later than the present period of the Parliamentary Session last year, the grievances of Newfoundland were a source, not only of anxiety to the Government, but of tempest in the Legislature. The permanent quarrel between the British and the French fishermen on the Treaty shore of Newfoundland (the part where the French have a Treaty right to fish) was under the superintendence of the naval officers of the two nations, to whom (let us at once admit it) great praise is due for many years of courtesy, tact, and moderation, not even yet exhausted. But no statute authorizes them to use coercive measures.

The catching and canning of lobsters is a new industry in Newfoundland. It is practised by both French and British. The French maintain that the British have no right to do either on the Treaty shore.

The British maintain that lobsters are not fish, that canning lobsters is not drying fish, and that the French have no right to do this in Newfoundland. But the British

admit that they are, by Treaty, bound not in any manner to interrupt, by their catching or canning of lobsters, the fishery of the French. This contention is accepted by the British Government, which however does not maintain it.

Early in 1890, in the hope of coming to some permanent agreement on the subject, the British and French Governments drew up and promulgated a *modus vivendi* for the season, permitting all lobster traps set up before 1st July, 1889, and prohibiting others. Mr. Baird, an owner of prohibited lobster traps, would not remove his. The British naval commander, Sir Baldwin Walker, in pursuance of instructions, landed a party and removed them. Mr. Baird brought an action for damages in the Supreme Court of Newfoundland. Sir Baldwin Walker pleaded his instructions, and justified his conduct as an act of State. This was in February, 1891. Sir James Winter, Q.C., the leading member of the popular Delegates of May, 1890, in an elaborate and learned speech, proved, in reply, that such a defence was an admission of illegality, and he obtained from the Supreme Court a confirmation of the doctrine:—"BETWEEN SOVEREIGN AND SUBJECT THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS AN ACT OF STATE."

The Newfoundland Government asked leave to appeal to the Privy Council. The Supreme Court of Newfoundland granted permission, but the Government at home, with a good sense which does them credit, refused to ask a legal sanction for what was really a *coup d'état*.

In 1788 an Act had been passed giving power to the Crown to remove any persons or vessels from the Treaty coast and shore if it deemed such proceedings proper and necessary to the carrying out of the Treaty and Declaration of Versailles. This Act, renewed in 1824, was repealed in 1832 (when a Legislative Assembly was granted to Newfoundland) to expire in 1834. No Newfoundland Act had taken its place, and there was no statute, Imperial or Colonial, providing any authority to decide what was the extent of French rights, to maintain them up to that limit,

or to restrain any attempt at their extension beyond it. On 19th March, 1891, the British Government brought in a Bill to revive and extend the Act of 1788 (G. III. xxviii., Cap. 35). It passed the House of Lords; its extension was mitigated in the House of Commons.

A fresh delegation arrived, and Sir William Whiteway, Prime Minister of Newfoundland, was heard before both Houses. At the suggestion of the delegates the Newfoundland Legislature passed an Act and the Bill was dropped.

"The Newfoundland French Treaties Act, 1891," (C. 6488) is intituled, "An Act for the purpose of carrying into effect engagements with France respecting fisheries in Newfoundland." It begins by reciting Article 13 of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of Paris (1763), Articles 4, 5, and 6 of the Treaty of Versailles (1783), the Declarations of the Kings of England and France appended to the Treaty, Articles 8 and 13 of the Treaty of Paris (1814), and Article 11 of the Treaty of Paris (1815). The Act then declares that differences had arisen between the Queen and the French Republic about French rights as to the catching and canning of lobsters, and that an agreement had been made between the High Contracting Parties to submit them to a Commission of Arbitration.

The Act goes on to say that :—

1. The Commission shall decide all questions submitted to it about the catching and preparation of lobsters.

2. The two Governments engage respectively to execute the decisions of the Commission of Arbitration.

3. The *modus vivendi* of 1890 shall be renewed for 1891.

4. When the lobster question has been settled, the Commission may take cognizance of other subsidiary questions on the text of which the two Governments shall have previously come to an agreement.

5. The Commission shall consist of three jurisconsults designated by common consent by the two Governments; of two delegates from Great Britain and two from France.

6. The Commission of seven shall decide by majority of votes and without appeal.

7. It shall meet as soon as possible.

The terms of the *modus vivendi* are then recited, and the Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Assembly of Newfoundland enact :—

1. That Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, shall have the powers conferred on the Crown by the Act of 1788.

2. That among the objects for which these powers are given shall be the enforcement of the *modus vivendi* of 1890 for the season of 1891 and during the Arbitration.

3. That a penalty of 200 dollars shall be imposed on any one contravening the provisions of the Act.

4. That this Act shall continue in force only until the end of 1893 *and no longer*.

When Parliament opened on 9th February last, Lord Kimberley asked how the Newfoundland Chancery Suit (by which we understand him to mean the Arbitration) was going on. The mysterious reply of Lord Salisbury was :—

“ The noble Lord asks about Newfoundland and refers to a Chancery suit. The noble Lord proceeded to say that he hoped that the efforts of Her Majesty’s Government had procured a settlement of that suit. Well, if Her Majesty’s Government had been let alone we should have procured such a settlement. Our efforts had the very fairest promise of success. Unfortunately a Bill was necessary, and that Bill had to pass through both Houses of Parliament. In this House the Bill met with a certain amount of criticism, but noble lords opposite did their part fairly, and I do not think any great harm was done. When, however, it got into the other House of Parliament matters took a very different turn, and I am revealing no diplomatic secret—for whenever the papers are published the fact must appear—when I say that the observations which were made by gentlemen who believed themselves to be, and announced themselves to be, on the point of coming into office at an early period were of such a character as to entirely destroy in the French Government any hope that they might obtain the execution of the decrees of the arbitrator when he might be appointed. Consequently, since that speech was delivered, we have not moved a single inch ; and up to this time the French Government have not ventured or thought it right to submit to the French Chamber the ratification of the engagement on the strength of which we proposed that Bill to Parliament. I am justified, therefore, in saying that if the Newfoundland business has not got further than it has at present, it is not because we have not made any efforts in the matter, but

because our efforts have been interfered with by the somewhat rash criticism that others have devoted to them. (Hear, hear.) But it is fair to say that the French Government are, I believe, awaiting the results of the legislation which has been promised in the Newfoundland Assembly. The Bill has been agreed upon by the Governments of Her Majesty and of Newfoundland which is to be submitted to the Newfoundland Assembly. I do not venture to prophesy what its fate will be ; but until that fate has been decided I cannot tell the noble Lord how soon the Chancery suit will come to a conclusion."

We do not understand how Lord Salisbury can expect from the Newfoundland Legislature any enlargement of the ample powers granted, though only till 31st December, 1893, in the Newfoundland French Treaties Act ; unless he fancies that he can persuade the Newfoundland Legislature to make it perpetual. Not a charming prospect this.

Nor do we understand why any of last year's speeches in the House of Commons should have diminished such expectations as the French had that the decision of the arbitrators would be carried out. But we are not sorry to find that the arbitration hangs fire.

There is an opinion growing up, not only in this country but throughout Europe, that a Treaty to decide all international disputes by something which its advocates call "arbitration," would ensure the peace of the world. Lists of "successful arbitrations" have been flaunted about, and among them have been included the Lake Boundary disputes with the United States, which were settled by negotiation ; the King of Holland's arbitration on the Maine Boundary, which the United States rejected ; the separatist dispute between Belgium and Holland ; and the disputes brought before the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Arbitration is thus brought before the multitude as an abstraction ; the quarrels between Governments are not investigated. It is just as if a mob of Africans were to be convinced that European medicines and European doctors were better than their own, and were to call upon some ignorant European to cure their diseases. The quack doctor's patients would die. The arbitration orators will perhaps carry their point, and disputes will be submitted to arbitra-

tion. The fighting will come afterwards. Disputes between foreign nations will not be peaceably decided by arbitrations unless the grounds of the disputes are understood by those who arrange the arbitrations. The contention of the peace agitators is that the Governments are not competent to make such arrangements. This is not an extravagant contention. But if so, there is no remedy till the disputes are understood by a sufficient number of the people.

There are disputes on which arbitration may be perfectly safe. But these are disputes where either side can afford to lose without being ruined. There are other disputes in which failure may be of little consequence to one side, but ruin to the other. Even if we were anxious to promote international arbitration as a principle and as a system, we should feel it our duty to such a cause to show that in the case of Newfoundland a successful arbitration—that is, one that should do justice to all parties—is an absolute impossibility, and that any attempt to obtain one is dangerous, and must, at the very least, impede the redress of the Newfoundland grievances.

This impossibility, however, requires to be explained.\* The principal fallacy is that the trouble arises from an obligation to observe the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht. M. Flourens declared that by the Treaty of Utrecht the “French shore” ought to have remained uninhabited. Now what says Article 13 of the Treaty of Utrecht:—

“The island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Great Britain . . . nor shall the most Christian King, his heirs and successors, or any of their subjects, at any time hereafter, lay claim to any right to the said island or islands or to any part of it or them. . . . But it shall be *allowed* to the subjects of

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\* The limits permissible to us forbid more than a skeleton of the narrative from 1713 to 1889. Such a narrative, however, appeared in two articles in the Diplomatic Fly Sheet in 1890. “The Case for the Fishermen and the Colony” in the July number, and “The Case of France” in that for October. All the provisions of the Treaties by which we are bound are printed verbatim in the Newfoundland French Treaties Act, 1891.

The Convention of 1857 and the Agreement of 1885 did not receive the consent of the Colony, which was a condition of their validity, and are therefore *not* recited in this Act.



France to catch fish and to dry them on land, in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said island of Newfoundland, which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern point, etc."

M. Flourens, ex-Minister, does not, however, stand alone in his demand for the desolation of the Treaty shore. In a despatch dated 21st September, 1888, from Admiral Krantz, Minister of Marine and Colonies, to M. Goblet, Minister of Foreign Affairs, we find the following :—

"We were thus entitled to believe, *in consequence of this series of engagements*, that the right exercised by France on the coast of the island of Newfoundland reserved to our fishermen is nothing else than a part of her ancient sovereignty over the island which she retained, while ceding the soil to England, but which she has never annulled nor alienated." *"Affaires de Terre Neuve, 1891," French Yellow Book, p. 185.*

The "series of engagements" was the Articles of the mysterious Convention of 1857, which stipulated that the engagements were to depend on the consent of the Colony. This was refused by the Legislature in a tempest of just indignation, the Speaker telling the British Government that, if it wanted to give something to the French, it should give them London which belonged to it.

The Treaty of Utrecht expired by the fact of war. But by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, the British Government revived it in favour of the French in Newfoundland, and gave St. Pierre and Miquelon to the French King, which he engaged not to fortify. This was the first departure from the Treaty of Utrecht. It was probably made in the hope that the concession of these islands would relieve the British fishermen from some of the competition of the French. But no compensating restriction was placed on the French in Newfoundland.

Again, the French Treaty rights in Newfoundland dissolved in war. Again were they restored in the Treaty of 1783. From this epoch dates the permanent quarrel, not between England and France, but between England and France on one side and Newfoundland on the other.

The simple provision of the Treaty of Utrecht, that the French should be *allowed* to catch and dry fish, was changed

for a specification which went into more minute particulars. But these particulars were contradictory.

In Article 5 of the Treaty of 1783 we find:—

“The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery which is assigned to them by the present Article as they *had the right to enjoy* that which was assigned to them by the Treaty of Utrecht.”

In the Declaration by George III. we also find:—

“The 13th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and the method of carrying on the fishery, which has at all times been acknowledged, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there.”

But we also find the following:—

“In order that the fishermen of the two nations may not give cause for daily quarrels, His Britannic Majesty will take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting in any manner by their competition, the fishery of the French, during the temporary exercise of it, which is granted to them upon the coast of the Island of Newfoundland.”

In 1788 the 28 George III. cap. 35 was passed. It is intitled,—

“An Act to enable His Majesty to make such regulations as may be necessary to prevent the inconvenience which might arise from the competition of His Majesty's subjects and those of the Most Christian King in carrying on the fishery on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland.”

This Act permitted the officers of the Crown, if they deemed it necessary, to remove any stages, flakes, train-vats or other works whatever for the purpose of carrying on the fishery, erected by His Majesty's subjects on the Treaty shore; and all ships found within the same limits, and to compel any of His Majesty's subjects to depart thence, *any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.*”

Several proclamations by the Governors of Newfoundland, one so late as 1822, attest the severity with which this Act was carried out. But as the French fishermen were not allowed to remain in Newfoundland in the winter, they were only too glad to employ the inhabitants to take care of their belongings during their absence, and never demanded that the Treaty shore should be uninhabited.

The interpretation given by the British Government to these contradictory sentences is that the French may take up any length of the Treaty coast and shore for catching and drying their codfish, but that the British may use any

of the space so long as the French leave it *unused*, and that the French right does not extend to catching, far less to canning, lobsters, which are prepared in buildings forbidden to the French by the Treaty. But this quasi-exclusive use of the Treaty shore was not "the method" under the Treaty of Utrecht. What then does Lord Salisbury mean by submitting to arbitration the interpretation of the contradictory terms of a Treaty, the meaning of which the negotiators themselves did not know?

The Treaty of 1783 changed the limits of the Treaty shore. It gave back to the English all between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. John on the east side, and added to the Treaty shore the whole of the west coast. Consequently the communication between the two sides is impeded both by land and by sea. A railway from east to west has been forbidden, lest some Frenchman should want the terminus to dry his fish on it; and, for the same reason, no man can there make a wharf or build a warehouse.

Owing to this blockade, Newfoundland, though larger than Ireland, has, after 178 years of British rule, a population of only 200,000. It is not surprising that the inhabitants should declare that the continued existence of the French right upon their coast is anomalous and intolerable.

Of late years the cod have nearly deserted the coasts of Newfoundland, and the French carry on their cod-fishery almost entirely on the Banks. But a new grief has made the Newfoundland cup of bitterness overflow. Both before and after the Treaty of 1783 both English and French allotted bounties to their fishermen going to Newfoundland *from Europe*. The English bounties have long ceased. The French bounties continue. A French statute (*loi*) of 22nd April, 1832, fixed afresh the bounties to be paid to sailors proceeding from France to the fisheries, and on the export of cod to the Colonies and foreign countries. A revised statute was passed 22nd July, 1851, and renewed for ten years on 28th July, 1860. We have not found a statute for 1870; but on the 15th December, 1880, the statute

of 1851 was renewed for ten years, and on 31st July, 1890, it was renewed to the 30th June, 1901. The statute of 1880 extended the bounties to expeditions equipped at St. Pierre and Miquelon.

The effect of this was not felt at first, but in a few years the increase of the quantity of French caught fish, cheapened by the bounties, began to tell. The imports of cod-fish into the port of Naples were :—

1885.					Cwts.
Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	35,000
French	...	...	...	...	5300
Total					<u>40,300</u>
1886.					Cwts.
Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	25,600
French	...	...	...	...	18,800
Total					<u>44,400</u>

Admiral Aube reported to M. Flourens as follows :—

1880	Ships	...	147	Tonnage	...	23,588
1886	,,	...	187	,,	...	30,337

To this he adds: 182 ships for the Bank fisheries equipped at St. Pierre and Miquelon in 1886. "*Affaires de Terre Neuve*," p. 126.

The exports, of quintals of 112 lbs. each, were :—

1881.					
St. Pierre	...	...	...	...	347,017
Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	1,463,439
1886.					
St. Pierre	...	...	...	...	908,300
Newfoundland	...	...	...	...	1,080,024

It is clear that the French might, by their bounties, drive the Newfoundlanders entirely out of the cod fish market.

The Newfoundlanders, while driven out of the fish market of the world, would be forbidden to seek any other employment, at least in Newfoundland. They are fighting the French bounties by the Bait Act, which, since 1887, forbids the sale of bait to the French; but the French, though they no longer fish for cod on the coasts of New-

foundland, fish there for bait, by treaty right ; and the blockade of the island continues. Besides, the French use the lobster catching and canning to carry out this blockade.

The Delegates complained that the British Government allow the French easement to take precedence of the British sovereignty. They said, 31st May, 1890 :

“ Where the Government of Britain is clearly of opinion that a claim set up by France is without a shadow of foundation, it is the duty of Britain to refuse to permit the exercise of the French claim, and for France to seek, and for Britain to refuse or grant, as she may deem wise, a settlement by arbitration ; Britain refusing to allow the exercise of the French claim over her soil until by the award of an arbitration the right of the French has been established.” “ *Affaires de Terre Neuve*,” p. 126. North America [6334].

Satisfactory arbitration is, we say, in this case impossible. Lord Salisbury, professedly, has proposed it because he thinks that he has found negotiation impossible. Certainly the basis for a negotiation has not been found, at least by our Foreign Office. But a war of bounties would soon lay a basis for negotiation.

Great Britain, by granting bounties to the inhabitants of Newfoundland, would violate no treaty with France, and she could easily destroy all the advantages in their bank fishery, which the French obtain by their treaty rights in Newfoundland. They would probably accept pecuniary compensation, which they now refuse.

On this point, however, we have no space for argument.

In recommending this plan to consideration, we may also suggest that it might be well to consider, first, how it was that the framers of the Treaty of 1783 came to be unable to know their own meaning ; and, secondly, whether the proposed Arbitration Commission is calculated to discover what these gentlemen evidently did not know themselves.

We have our opinions on these subjects, but having no space at present to justify them, we refrain from stating them.

C. D. COLLET.

## CREATION BY THE VOICE AND THE ENNEAD OF HERMOPOLIS.

BY PROF. DR. G. MASPERO.\*

THE theology of Heliopolis represented creation as effected by a series of muscular efforts and violent acts of the different gods of the Ennead, which gave the world the form it now bears. This theory doubtless seemed too materialistic for other Priestly colleges ; a different doctrine soon developed itself side by side with it, in which speech, and above all the simple emission of the voice produced the effects attributed by the School of Heliopolis to muscular force alone.

The human voice had, and still has among most Oriental nations, a power not attributed to it by Europeans. It is the magical instrument, above all others, without which the highest operations of the art cannot succeed. Each of its emissions awakens an echo in the world of the Invisible, and sets to work forces of which the vulgar herd suspect neither the existence nor the manifold activities. Doubtless, the mere text of a Summons (*Évocation*), the sequence of words of which it is formed, has its real value, but this value is only full when the human voice comes in to give life to the letter ; the spell, to be efficacious, must be accompanied by song, must become an *incantation*, a *Carmen*. When declaimed with the sacramental chaunt (*mélopée*), without the modification of a single modulation, it necessarily produced its full effect ; a false note, an error in the measure, the slightest break between two sounds, and it was null and void of effect. This is the reason why all who recited prayers or *formule* intended to bind the gods to the ac-

\* Translated from the French by C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

complishment of a determinate act, called themselves *Mâ Khrôou*, or correct-voiced, and this is true not only, as commonly thought, of the dead, but also of the living; the happy or unhappy results of the operation depended entirely on the correctness of their voice. It was therefore the voice which had the preponderating part in prayer and in sacrifice, *i.e.*, in the capture (*mainmise*) of the gods by man; without the voice, *formulæ* were but a dead letter. It is long since I established this point, and showed that in the alliance of voice and speech which constitutes prayer or a spell (*conjuratation*), those were mistaken who only took account of speech and neglected the voice.

I have endeavoured to establish by texts, both in my lectures at the Collège de France and in my informal address (*Conférence familière*) at the Faculty of Protestant Theology, that the voice without speech was reputed to have the same effect as the two combined, and had been, according to certain Egyptian schools, the agent in Creation. I have elsewhere collected the texts; I do not therefore cite them anew here, but merely give their substance. They all come back to the same idea:—The Supreme God who is reputed to be the God of Creation, opens his mouth, and the gods come out of it, either the gods generally, or some particular god. Once come forth, the gods each set to work on that which they were predestined to accomplish. These texts have hitherto been translated under the influence of the preconceived idea that what was here meant was a *formula*, and not an emission of the voice: but this is only an instinctive interpretation, and the Egyptian phrases simply state the fact of a Divine mouth opening and gods issuing from it.

The meaning and value of the proceeding are set in relief by a passage from a magical book in Greek, in which the doctrine of the Creation is explained according to the system of the Marcosians.\* I refer for a full exposition of

\* Heretics of the second century after Christ, named after Marcus, who was perhaps, says Blunt (*Dict. of Sects and Heresies*), a follower of Valen-

the system to the splendid publication by Leemans. I only give a *résumé* of the parts which touch more particularly on my subject. The Magician addresses himself to *Thoth*:—‘I invoke thee,’ says he, ‘Oh Hermes, thou who containest everything in every speech and dialect, as thou wast first celebrated by thy subordinate, the Sun, to whom the care of everything is entrusted.’ The solar forms then salute *Thoth*, who answers them thus: ‘And speaking, the god clapped his hands, and burst seven times into bursts of laughter. *Kha, Kha, Kha, Kha, Kha, Kha, Kha*, and when he had done laughing, seven gods were born,’ one for each burst of laughter, as we see. When Hermes first laughed, light appeared, to light everything; and the Creation began to take place. He laughed six times in succession, and each burst of laughter gave birth to a fresh being and a fresh phenomenon; the earth, feeling the sound, in its turn gave utterance to a cry, and bowed itself, and the waters were divided into three bodies (*masses*). Then were born Destiny, Justice, Opportunity, the Soul. The last, at its birth, first laughed, then wept, whereupon the god gave forth a breath, bent himself towards the earth and produced the serpent Python, which is possessed of universal prescience. At the sight of the dragon, the god was struck with stupor, and clacked his lips, whereupon an armed being appeared. The god, seeing this, was again struck with stupor, as at sight of a more powerful one than himself, and, lowering his eyes towards the earth, exclaimed, *Iao*! The god who is master of everything was born of the echo of that sound.’

This passage clearly shows us the idea: the marked sound *kha, kha*, creates the gods, then after the laughter the whistling, after the whistling the clacking of the lips, after the clacking of the lips a body of sound, *Iao*, without significance in human speech. The Marcosians have only developed the old Egyptian conception of the Creation by the voice. Among them, as among the

tinus. Littré (*Dict., s.v.*), says that the *Æons* of his system were supposed to have been produced by the word (*Parole*) of God.—*Tr.*



heathen theologians of Egypt, the gods come out of the mouth of God by the simple emission of the voice.

This theory of creation by the voice is a refinement on that of creation by speech ; speech, in fact, represents something complex and concrete to a greater degree than mere emission of sound. Doubtless, the laughter, the whistling, the clacking of the Creator are so many material facts, but at least all that they express is contained in one only, undivided sound, produced without apparent effort, within a very brief space of time. Sound, thus understood, bears to speech the same relation as the whistle of the officer of the watch bears to the full word of command. It becomes almost an abstraction. In the beginning the Creator had spoken (*parlé*) the world ; later he produced it (*l'émit*) with a sound. It only remained for him to will it out of chaos (*néant*) by thought ; but that is a conception of which Egyptian theology does not seem to have dreamed. Even the idea of creation by the voice did not spread among the people as much as that of creation by muscular action. The Greek text, which I cited above, attributes it to *Hermes = Thoth*, and the Egyptian inscriptions show us that this was right. *Thoth* is, in fact, by nature the god of speech and of the voice, and the majority of the titles represent him as occupied in producing voice or speech, and in preserving the effect of it in writing. But *Thoth* is not a simple personality : mixed up at an early date with the Osirian myth, it is, above all, through the monuments of that myth that we know him at the present day. He appears to us as subordinate to the god of the dead, transporting the spirits on his Ibis wing to the Fields of *Iarou*, carrying out the weighing of the souls, and watching the scales, acting as a sort of clerk of the court. We also see him registering the actions of the kings as he had registered those of King *Osiris-onnophris*, and promising them centuries of life.

All this gives the idea of a secondary personage, and if we remark that he does not figure among the members of

the great Ennead of Heliopolis, but is relegated to the smaller group, one is apt to be strengthened in the belief that he played a part of minor importance in the development of Egyptian theology. But in so concluding we should be wrong.

The *Thoth* myth seems to have been elaborated in two different towns of the name of Hermopolis, one of which was in lower, the other in middle Egypt. The *Thoth* of the Delta has for his constant surname, as Brugsch has well noted, *Ouapou-rohoui*, he who judges between the parties, and this epithet shows us that it was he who chiefly introduced the Osirian element into the Hermes myth. Hermopolis the lesser, in fact, forms part of the same geographical group as Bouto, Mendes, Busiris, Heroöpolis, all towns belonging to gods of the Osirian Cycle, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Sit*. One form of the legend tells us that *Hor* and *Sit*, unable to gain the mastery the one over the other, carried their cause to *Thoth*, and that he judged between them: it was as a neighbour that he had been chosen as arbitrator, and we see by what a local accident he enters into the History of *Osiris*. The *Thoth* of the greater Hermopolis was swept away (*entraîné*) in the water of the lesser, but the town over which he held sway was too important for him altogether to lose his identity. He remained there, to the last, the supreme god that he had been in the beginning. He is there all that the "Feudal" gods are, the maker (*fabricant*), *Îri*, and the guide of all that is and of all that as yet is not, the "creator" of beings, "the architect (*fabricant*) of the whole of this universe." A hymn of the Ptolemaic age, which Brugsch cites in this connection, accentuates this character of creator, all-powerful, by placing *Thoth* on the same level with *Atoumou-Rū-Khopri*, the chief of the Ennead of Heliopolis.

But his method of creation is not the same as that of *Toumou*. It is in conformity with the god's nature, and is accomplished by the modes of action which are peculiar to

him. Now these modes are of two kinds, (1) the *formula*, spoken or written, and (2) the voice. The more ancient of the two is the *formula*; and it is by the recitation of magic *formulæ*, by incantation, that he created the world. The voice, the properly cadenced (*juste*) voice, was at first only the necessary vehicle of the *formula*, but, by a process of abstraction, became the sole instrument of creation. The chief stages in this transformation may be noted at this point. In its beginning, the *formula* contains intelligible phrases in human speech, embracing the human name of the gods. Gradually, as we recede from the age in which it was drawn up, the sense becomes darker, partly through the change of Idiom, which alters while the prayer remains unaltered, partly by the change of ideas, which become refined and are alienated from the coarseness of early ideas; and it then comes to be thought (*semble*) that the gods, in order to be reached, require the use of a language unintelligible to the rest of mankind, and desire to be called upon by names which are not those given them by the populace. The *formula* is completed by a gibberish (*galimatias*) of syllables and names, some borrowed from foreign tongues, others completely formed (*formés de toutes pièces*). In these the interjections and vowels ended by carrying the day, all the more easily that they constituted a veritable musical notation, marking the chaunt (*mélopée*) on which the emphatic passages were to be recited.

The invocations, so frequent from a certain date, in which certain series predominated, as, *e.g.*, *a a a a*; *e e e e*; *i i i i*; etc., are real invocations by the voice alone, in which the sound operates by its own force, without the help of words. This is the method which *Thoth* employed, and which the other gods borrowed from him. It had been known and used from a high antiquity, for the allusions to the gods coming out of the mouth of the Creator, of which I spoke above, are found on monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty. *Thoth*, therefore, created the

world at the same time that he put forth the gods from his mouth. But what were the gods so put forth, and what part did they play relatively to him?

His temple at Hermopolis, and the town itself, bore names of significance in regard to this question: Castle of the Five, Town of the Eight. Strange as it may seem at first sight, the latter is a mere mythological development of the former. The five gods, after whom the temple was named, had among them a supreme chief, *Thoth*, with four supplementary gods. By adding a goddess to each of these there was obtained an Octoad, after which Hermopolis is called the Town of the Eight, *Echmounein*. To sum up, these names show us in the theolōgy of Hermopolis, two councils of gods, of whom the latter is derived from the former; a Council of Five, composed of a Monad and a Tetrad, a Council of Nine, composed of a Monad and an Octoad. These are, as we say, the two fundamental divisions of the Ennead of Hermopolis, and they have the same meaning. Creation is only accomplished, and the world can only last, on condition that the heaven separated from the earth shall remain firmly established on its four pillars. The first care of the Creator must therefore be, at Hermopolis as at Heliopolis, to produce the four gods who are to watch over the pillars; these are the most necessary gods, the first whose production is required, the last who must die. Therefore it is not only at Hermopolis and Heliopolis that they should be found; they ought to exist in all the towns, and their presence in all the systems of local religion necessarily favoured the rapid diffusion of the theories connected with the Ennead of Heliopolis. The names which they bore doubtless differed in various places. At Hermopolis they were called *Nou*, *Hehou*, *Kakou*, *Ninou*. Egyptologists, who have studied them—Lepsius, Dümichen, Brugsch, Wiedemann—have given them very varying characteristics. Without discussing their opinions, all of which appear to me to contain a great deal of truth, I think that at first these four gods were the

Guardians of the Four Pillars, the gods of the Four Cardinal Points, of the Four Winds of the world. The goddesses who are allotted to them belong to what I have called the class of grammatical goddesses. They are derived from the name of the god by the addition of the feminine inflection—*Nouit* from *Nou*, *Hehit* from *Hehou*, *Kakit* from *Kakou*, *Ninit* from *Ninou*; they are therefore beings produced by reasoning, as an after-thought, to make up a complete whole. They were invented at the time when the Ennead of Heliopolis was penetrating Hermopolis, and it became necessary to add to the Council of the Five the four goddesses who were wanting to it. The pair, *Nou-Nouit*, answered, as far as we may judge, to the pair, *Shou-Tafnit*, *Hehou-Hehit* to *Sibou-Nouit*, *Kakou-Kakit* to *Osiris-Isis*, *Ninou-Ninit* to *Sit-Nephthys*.

The slender importance of the part played by the goddesses, and even their actual uselessness in the system of Hermopolis, may easily be explained if we go back to what I have said of the method of creation employed by *Thoth*. *Thoth* creates by the formula and the voice. He opens his mouth, and the gods come out of it, the four gods who set the world in order (*disposent*), and bind earth to heaven. In the doctrine of Heliopolis the gods acted by brute efforts, being only able to exist and act by conforming themselves to the brutish conditions of humanity. They begot each other, and consequently must have for companions goddesses capable of conceiving and giving birth.

At Hermopolis, on the contrary, the exclusive use of the formula and of the voice passing from *Thoth* to his four assessors, rendered marriage useless for them. Since it was only necessary for them to speak in order to act, what need could they have of fertile companions? We can understand that they did without them down to the time when they were united with the divinities of the Ennead of Heliopolis, when they were obliged to duplicate themselves in order to rise to the number of eight. As the marriage imposed upon them by the new dogma in no

way altered their natural character, we can also understand that their wives never attained to a clear and well-defined existence. They themselves, moreover, had not as sharply defined a personality as had the gods of Heliopolis, *Shou*, *Sibou*, *Osiris*, *Sit*, who had each his own method of action, differing from that of the rest, and which prevented any confusion between them.

The four gods of Hermopolis, on the contrary, had at their disposal only one means of action, always a sovereign mode, but always the same. There was therefore, in their manner of being, nothing to distinguish them necessarily the one from the other, and their very shapes had a general conformity, such as was not the case with the gods of the Ennead of Heliopolis. They are four beings of human shape, without attributes and without characteristic faces. They are four men with the head of a frog and four women with the head of a serpent. They are eight baboons gathered round *Thoth*, in adoration of *Thoth*, the chief baboon. Consequently it was not the custom to invoke them separately, but they were invoked collectively as the eight, *Khmounou*. In later times, the little individual existence which their condition left them was eventually withdrawn, and they were only spoken of as one being, whom the texts call by the name *Khomminou*, the god Eight.

The Ennead of Hermopolis never enjoyed the same popularity as that of Heliopolis. Its very abstract character prevented it from having any success except with theologians. Some of the gods who compose it are found mentioned even in the Pyramid texts; and it probably was received from that time in the schools of theology. Nevertheless, the oldest worship in which we see it adopted, and that in which it is the most fully adopted, is precisely that of Theban *Amon*. *Amon*, born to political life later than *Phtah*, was not in feudal relations, like *Phtah*, with the gods of Heliopolis. He had it in his power to be eclectic, and thus the more easily to make himself a place in the Ennead of Hermopolis, which was favourable to his tendency

towards unity and universal domination. The impersonal and almost abstract Octoad of Hermopolis, offered less resistance to his tendencies than the very individual and very living gods of Heliopolis. We therefore find fairly often, during the Theban epoch, and on Theban monuments, *Amon* substituted for *Thoth*, at the head of the Ennead of Hermopolis, and receiving in his stead the homage of the eight Baboons, or of the eight gods with the heads of frogs and serpents. He then creates by voice and by speech, and the Octoad which issues from his mouth continues the creation under his orders by the same method as it did under the orders of *Thoth*.

The fall of Thebes, and the consequent ruin of *Amon*, delayed still more the diffusion of the Ennead of Hermopolis, or rather its juxtaposition to the Ennead of Heliopolis in the sanctuaries. But on the other hand, the ever-increasing importance gained by Osiris, and the gods of his cycle, added to the influence of *Thoth* and of his methods.

The texts whose real compilation (*rédaction*) may be attributed to the last days of the Egyptian religion are so few that we can scarcely follow the development of myths and ideas. The preponderating part which Hermes played in the Greco-Roman epoch proves to us that *Thoth*, and consequently his methods of creation by the speech and the voice, must have carried the day in the schools at least from the time of the Saïte Dynasties. The mode of action of *Atoumou* and the gods of Heliopolis had seemed decidedly too gross, and that of *Thoth* had been chosen in preference. Hermetic books, if not in their form, at least in their substance, represent the ideas of the last stage of the doctrine elaborated for *Thoth* by the priests of Hermopolis, and continued subsequently by the addition of the Heliopolitan elements adopted by the theologians of the Theban Dynasties, and transmitted by them to the *Theurgi* of the Alexandrian epoch. The word (λόγος) and the true voice (φωνή ἀληθής) of *Thoth-Hermes* carried the day over the brute force of the old gods of Heliopolis.

## ORIENTAL STUDIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THERE is no doubting the statement that, in proportion to their importance, Oriental subjects are greatly neglected in this country. The Indian languages have been more studied than other Eastern tongues, and general Indian subjects have been more attended to than other Eastern matters, and in a country which rules India this could not well be otherwise. But, considering their importance, even these have been shamefully neglected, alike in our great schools of learning and by our Government, which has done so little to encourage original research in this direction.

But other Oriental languages—and particularly of the Semitic group—have been yet more overlooked. Remembering the importance of Arabic in commerce and in diplomacy: remembering also its vast and valuable literature, and, as I have elsewhere tried to show, its importance for Biblical study, it is astonishing that this language has received and now receives so little attention. The late Dr. Lee wrote as follows to the late Rev. F. Bosworth, M.A.:—  
 “Prior to 1819, when I had the honour of being elected Arabic Professor at Cambridge, not a lecture had been delivered on either Hebrew or Arabic learning at either of our Universities for, perhaps, the preceding 100 years. The endowments at Cambridge were too small to induce able and inquiring men to attend to studies of this sort, being only £40 a year. Besides, Scripture learning was not greatly in request in those times.”

Hebrew and Aramaic have been more cultivated and more has been done to promote their study. Yet even these have been practically shelved, compared with what has been done to further classical and even New Testament study.

Assyrian is a comparatively new study everywhere, and that because, until not many decades back, we had no



material to work upon for learning the language. But for some years now, we can read the Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform with almost as much certainty as we read Hebrew. Numerous texts have been published, with transliterations, translations, and commentaries. We have now several good Grammars, and the Lexicons are gradually being made and issued. No one competent to judge, questions the great value of the Assyrian language and literature. Yet until last year, from John O'-Groat's to Land's End, there was nowhere in these British Islands a professor of Assyrian, one employed simply as such. It is well that Professor Sayce should be the first, for he has done more than any other in England to popularize Assyrian. In Cambridge, my friend Mr. S. A. Strong—a pupil of Professor Sayce's—has lately been appointed Lecturer in Assyrian, and, from what I know of him, I believe he will increase the number of Assyriologists.

Two hundred years ago we were doing more for Eastern study than Germany. Now, and for a long time, we are doing unspeakably less. This is painfully apparent in the department of Semitic languages as used for Biblical ends. Half a century ago in what a sad condition was English Biblical exposition! The English commentaries produced then and before, make all true Englishmen blush. We condemn the Germans for their anti-supernaturalism, but I have often said, "Thank God a thousand times for those German rationalists." I may not like their rationalism, nor many other things in their writings. But at least they are not afraid to try and get behind the sacred writings, to understand the times, occasions and authors. They have enabled us to see in the Bible a series of living productions that had their rise in this world and in connection with real men and women who lived in it. And their daring has awakened the orthodox Bible students of these islands; so that we are following in their wake and producing works ourselves as original as theirs, and often more sober, and we shall in the near future do

much more. But we cannot forget the immense debt we owe to the Germans. Much of our Semitic learning is obtained from German grammars and lexicons. Even the United States of America have gone beyond England in enthusiasm for Semitic languages for Biblical purposes, and in efforts to promote their study. This may be accounted for by two considerations :

(1.) American Theological students have continued their studies in Germany much more largely than those of this country. Dr. Pusey was so alarmed by this that, in 1832, he wrote to Dr. E. Robinson:—"Indeed, I have been looking with anxiety to America ever since I learned to what extent the education of your young divines was carried on in Germany."

(2.) Professors of Semitic languages in the American States have made greater efforts to popularize the study of these languages than corresponding professors among us. The late Professor Moses Stuart of Andover was not only a diligent student of Hebrew and its cognates, but he was a most inspiring teacher, and an enthusiastic advocate by pen and otherwise of his special studies. So magnetic was his influence, that students gathered around him from all directions, and they invariably left with something of his enthusiasm for Semitic studies. He was professor of Sacred Literature at Andover during the long period of thirty-eight years, during most of which Andover was the Halle of America. Gesenius's Lexicon was translated into English first of all by an American, the late Prof. Gibbs of Yale. Winer's Chaldee Grammar has been put into English by two Americans, Mr. Riggs and Prof. Hackett, but no Englishman ever attempted a translation. Gesenius's Grammar was put into English by the late Dr. Conant long before the late Dr. Davies translated it for this country.

At the present day there are two men in America who have done more to make known the importance to Theological students of Hebrew and its cognates, and to excite an interest in them, than all the Semitic professors in this

country put together: Dr. Briggs of Union College, and Dr. Harper of Chicago, recently of Yale. Besides teaching classes and firing their own pupils with their own zeal, they have written books and pamphlets, given public lectures, and organized Summer Schools, which are held in important centres. So that they not only influence students, but also come in contact with ministers and laymen, and impart some of their own feeling to them. They issue their *Hebraica* and their *Old and New Testament Student*. They have their *American Institute of Sacred Literature*, which, besides organizing the Summer Schools, arranges for teaching by correspondence and for examinations. We have Semitic scholars in this country fully equal to the best on the other side of the water: we might say even more. But our scholars bury themselves in their class-rooms or their studies, and seem to be troubled with no excessive amount of fervour. It may be remembered that, in the spring of 1887, in the *Athenæum*, I pleaded strongly for the establishment of a "British Hebrew or Semitic Institute," similar to the American Hebrew Institute, since developed into the American Institute of Sacred Literature. I received very cordial letters from the leading scholars of this country. They wished me success in so desirable a movement, and several kindly offered to help when it was formed. None were inclined to help in *forming* it, though they could accomplish immeasurably more than I could. I hope even yet that something of this kind will be planted and take root in this country. If we could as students and teachers of the Semitic languages meet together once or more every year, we should help and encourage each other and organize methods of furthering the interests of our special studies as nothing else could.

We have in these islands at the present time a noble band of workers, who, if in some way brought together, could do much that otherwise is impossible. Why should we not have an annual congress, just as Scientists meet

annually as the "British Association"? I have spoken of the Semitic languages, because my interest lies chiefly in them; but students of other Eastern languages should band in a similar manner for similar ends. If we had an annual Oriental congress we could, as is now done by the triennial congress, branch off into various sections.

*I shall now glance at some of the Oriental work done in Great Britain and Ireland. And first* THE EDUCATIONAL WORK.

In no British or Irish *school* is Hebrew, or are its cognates taught, except in the City of London school, where my friend Dr. W. Mead Jones is teacher, and in the Merchant Taylors' school. In not one of the great public schools is any attention paid to Eastern languages. The boys are carefully drilled in the classics, so that they go up to the universities proficient classical scholars. Why should they not be able to make a similar start in the most important Eastern languages, if they intend going on with them?

I am professor in a theological college, and I have been in the same position, in the same college, for just upon eleven years.\* Now I have never yet had one man enter my Hebrew classes who had mastered his alphabet before doing so. And nearly all Hebrew professors in colleges and universities have the same experience. The men come to us often well grounded in Latin and Greek, because the preparatory schools do that. But though time and ability are available to lay the foundation of Hebrew scholarship, there is no one to teach. In Germany, Hebrew is taught, I am told, in the schools. The title of Fürst's small lexicon reads thus:—"Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Schul-Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament." A Hebrew dictionary for use in schools! How singular that sounds to English ears! And there are Hebrew grammars and other Hebrew dictionaries or lexicons "für Schulgebrauch." The Gymnasien answer largely to our public schools,

\* Since writing the above I have accepted the Principalship of the Midland Baptist College, Nottingham.

though the Realschulen provide commercial and scientific education. Hebrew is regularly taught in the Gymnasien. In many of them there are two or more first-class men lecturing daily in elementary and in advanced Hebrew.

Candidates for the ministry, before they are admitted as theological students into the university, are required to study Hebrew three or four years at the Gymnasium, and then to pass a creditable examination in most of the Old Testament. With this good start they enter the university, and spend several years under the best scholars; what wonder that they become splendid Semitic scholars? In our higher schools it ought to be possible, if desired, for a boy to begin his studies in Hebrew, etc. If each school cannot of itself engage a teacher for these languages, two or more schools might join to keep one peripatetic teacher between them.

At present, in this country, Eastern tongues are begun too late in life. If we are to excel, as we might and ought, we must let our boys and girls begin at an earlier age.

Now I come to our UNIVERSITY COLLEGES.

In some of these, Eastern languages are taught; but in the great majority they are wholly ignored. University College, London, easily leads the way with professors of Arabic and Persian, Hebrew, Pali with Buddhist literature, and Sanscrit: four professors in all. In King's College, London, there are three Orientalist professors. Liverpool, Birmingham, Nottingham,\* and Sheffield Colleges, have not even one teacher of Eastern languages. There is one at the Yorkshire College at Leeds, and one at Bristol.

In Wales we have three university colleges. In one there was, until lately, a Hebrew lecturer, a Nonconformist minister, who lectured there twice a week. In another there is a professor who teaches Oriental and modern languages. In the third there is no teacher of Eastern tongues at all. Now in all these colleges there ought to be at least one teacher of, say, Semitic languages. And if at first there

\* At Nottingham University College a professor of Hebrew has been appointed, who entered upon his duties in October, 1891.

are no students, he might be employed to give public lectures, and to conduct extension classes in different towns. There would often be some students, and their numbers would grow. If the German Gymnasien give Oriental studies a place in their curriculum, surely our University Colleges should do so, and with more reason.

*I speak next about the theological colleges of the various religious denominations in this country.* In the great majority of these colleges there is not even one professor allowed to give his whole time to Hebrew, the Old Testament, and related studies. This is the state of things in Wales without a single exception, and, as a rule, those who deal with Hebrew have to teach half a dozen subjects besides. I have taught more than half a dozen subjects in addition to Hebrew. The Bala Calvinistic Methodist College has just been thrown open to all denominations, and to both sexes. The committee of this "Welsh Mansfield," as it has been called, have just invited applications for a professorship of Hebrew and its cognates. This is the first chair of the kind ever founded in Wales, though I think others will soon follow.

From Wales, which is worst off, let us look at Scotland, which seems best off in this. In the three theological colleges of the Free Church, and in the one theological college of the United Presbyterian Church, there is a professorship of Hebrew and Old Testament interpretation, and the same is probably the case in other theological colleges. Within late years all students for the three Presbyterian Churches (the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church) must pass an examination in Hebrew grammar, and in easy translation and re-translation, before they are allowed to enter on their theological curriculum. And they are compelled to devote themselves to Hebrew at least two of the three or four years of that curriculum. At the close of their course, before being licensed to preach, there is an exit test, conducted by examiners appointed by the various churches.

In addition to this, Hebrew and Old Testament exigesis are included in the requirements for the degree of B.D., which is given by each of the Scotch universities; and the best theological students aim at winning this. In Edinburgh, at least, this degree is taken by men from England, Ireland, Canada, Cape Colony, etc., etc. I have looked over the requirements of this examination in Hebrew, and at some papers submitted; and I consider them very respectable, though no knowledge of the cognate languages is asked, nor any acquaintance with extra-Biblical Hebrew writings. But to obtain the doctorate of philology, if the Semitic languages be the department taken, Aramaic in its two branches, and Arabic must be studied as well as Hebrew, and a thesis, showing original research, must be sent in, six months before the examination.

Eight years ago Professor D. L. Adams, of Edinburgh opened classes at his University for the study of Syriac and Arabic, and he has conducted them with success ever since. Previous to this, Hebrew was the only Semitic language taught at this University. The number studying Aramaic or Arabic during a session has varied from 3 to 12. The average number of Hebrew students is 70 or rather over during the winter session, and 12 or so during the summer.

There are two scholarships in the Edinburgh University for excellence in Semitic languages. One (the Jeffrey) is for one year only, and is worth about 80%. The other (the Vans Dunlop) is of the value of 100% annually for three years. Hebrew (Biblical), Aramaic, and Arabic are required for each of these examinations. I am rather surprised that in Edinburgh University extra-Biblical Hebrew (Mishnaic, Talmudic, etc.) are so utterly ignored.

I have drifted off to the Universities almost without knowing, but I am still speaking of the training received by candidates for the Christian ministry. I have no doubt that a work similar to that going on at Edinburgh is accomplished in connection with the other Scotch univer-

sities, but I cannot here refer to each one separately. I shall, in a few moments, return to the Scotch Universities.

Coming to theological colleges in England, I am not aware of one in which one man is allowed to give his undivided attention to Hebrew and Old Testament, or to the Semitic languages. Among the Baptists of Great Britain and Ireland I know there is not one such. Mansfield College, Oxford, may have one, though I am doubtful,\* but besides that I know of no Congregational college in these islands with such a professor. This is also the case with other churches of this country, established and non-established; and I think it reflects very unfavourably upon the intelligence of our religious leaders. We have not yet awakened, as the Germans and as even the Americans have, to the importance of the Semitic languages as a means of understanding the Bible. There are unmistakable signs of a better state of things coming, but the change is very gradual, and it is for those who see the need to bestir themselves to expedite this change.

In Wales, and I suspect the remark applies to England, Hebrew is never prescribed, never even permitted, as a subject for the entrance examination. One reason for this, doubtless, is that there are no preparatory schools, and hardly any university colleges, where Hebrew is taught. But if a candidate who has studied Hebrew presents it for the entrance examination, he should at least be allowed to do this; and this subject should be allowed to rank as equal in importance to the other subjects. At the annual committee (held August 4th, 1891) of the Haverfordwest College, in which I had the honour of being professor, I proposed an arrangement by which Hebrew can be taken,

\* Since writing the above I have been informed by Dr. Fairbairn, the Principal, that at present there are two Hebrew tutors at Mansfield College, and that next year there will be probably three. This is certainly good news; but I hardly think he means that two men are giving all their time to studying and teaching Hebrew. If I am not mistaken, they are advanced students giving lessons in Hebrew.



if the candidate desires it. I would go further and place a premium upon a knowledge of Biblical languages, if possessed. If such men enter our theological halls and colleges, they proceed at once to read the Old and New Testaments, and to critically examine them. At present new men have to start literally with the A B C of Hebrew ; and when they have just begun to use the languages for exegetical purposes, perhaps before even that, they have to quit the college to enter upon the manifold duties of the Christian ministry. No wonder they do not attempt any of the related languages so helpful to the real mastery of Hebrew, and that the great majority of them give up even the Hebrew.

I go on to consider THE UNIVERSITIES in their relation to Oriental studies ; and I begin with the general remark that in the German Universities very much more time is devoted to the study of Eastern subjects than in the British and Irish : any one who compares their calendars will see this at a glance.

I commence here, as in considering the University colleges, with my own country (Wales) ; and I regret to have to say that up to the present we have no university at all, though there is a probability of our having one at an early date. When this is the case, I trust that Eastern languages will be recognized in the degrees conferred, so that the University Colleges of Wales may have some encouragement in teaching these languages.

From Wales let us go, as before, to Scotland. In each of the four Scotch Universities there is a chair of Semitic languages, and in Edinburgh there is likewise a professorship of Sanskrit. Besides this one Sanskrit chair, the only Oriental languages taught from University chairs, and taught at all so far as I know in Scotland, are the Semitic.

The Scottish University Commissioners have recently included Semitic languages among the optional subjects for the M.A. ; but as yet there is no honours' course in this department, as there is in classics, mathematics, philosophy and

history. Such a course ought to be arranged, and as a step towards the doctorate. It would be well to bring pressure to bear upon the Commissioners, to induce them to amend their draft Ordinance.

In the Universities across the border all professors of Oriental languages must be members—not necessarily ministers—of the Church of Scotland, and must subscribe to the Westminster Confession. Until recently this was the case with all professors; but these doctrinal and ecclesiastical tests have now been removed from all chairs except from the purely theological ones and those of Oriental languages with the exception of the solitary Sanskrit chair referred to. In the interests of learning and of free and unrestrained inquiry, restrictions ought to be removed from all chairs of Oriental languages which ought to be put on the same footing as the chairs (linguistic, scientific, etc.), to which no credal conditions are attached.

Now let us cross the Channel to Ireland, where we have a most unsatisfactory state of things. We have three Irish universities, viz. the University of Dublin; the Royal University of Ireland, an unsectarian examining body, replacing the Queen's University; and the Catholic University of Ireland.

The University of Dublin has two professors wholly given up to Oriental languages, viz., Mir Aulad Ali, professor of Hindustanee and Arabic, and Dr. Robert Atkinson, professor of Sanscrit. There is no professorship of Hebrew standing by itself; for the Rev. T. K. Abbot, Dr. Lit., teaches other subjects, and is also Librarian of the University. There are assistant Hebrew teachers, but from all I can gather, very little solid work is done in Hebrew or Aramaic in connection with this University; and very little has been accomplished by it in the past to promote these studies, though the late Dr. Wall wrote some poor works on "Hebrew Vowels," etc., and the late Dr. Longfield, a Chaldee grammar. The late Rev. E. L. Hinck was a brilliant student of Assyrian, and his premature death was a serious loss to the cause of Assyriology;

but his labours belong to the period after he had retired to a country living. The only scholarships in connection with the Dublin University, for the encouragement of Hebrew and Old Testament studies, are the Wall Scholarships; and to obtain these, candidates must show an acquaintance with Dr. Wall's own works, though these are bulky and almost worthless. I cannot forbear, at this point, referring to a former student of Trinity College, Dublin, who has done much to further the critical study of the Old Testament, and for whose valuable works on Zechariah, Koheleth, etc., we are deeply grateful. I refer to the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., etc., now of Liverpool.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY of Ireland is an examining body only, but I note that the Rev. J. G. Murphy, D.D., is the only examiner appointed for Eastern tongues, and he has to do with but Hebrew. And moreover, the three University Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, which formed part of the now defunct Queen's University, have not a single Oriental professorship.

I have no knowledge of the Catholic University, but I hear that no Hebrew is taught; and I have said enough to show that in the sister island, Eastern studies are in a bad way.

In England now we have five universities, including London, which is only an examining institution. The newest of these is the VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, with two Oriental chairs, that of Hebrew and Arabic at Owen's College, Manchester, occupied by the Rev. L. M. Simmons, B.A., and that of Hebrew at Leeds, occupied by Joseph Straus, Ph.D.

LONDON UNIVERSITY is, as just stated, an examining body only, but it has included several Oriental languages, among the requirements for degrees, and in branch IV. of the examination for M.A. it has made it possible for candidates to take Oriental languages only. Some languages should be added, however, and especially Assyrian, for if a student has worked hard at this difficult language he ought to be able to gain credit for it.

DURHAM, our smallest University, is largely theological. It has a professorship and also a lectureship of Hebrew.

Much more is done, as might be expected, at our two older and larger Universities; but though beyond all reckoning richer, they do less by far for Oriental learning, than corresponding German Universities. To show this let us compare Oxford, where Eastern studies are best off, with Berlin. At the former I find the following professors:—

Arabic (Laud's)	...	...	D. S. Margoliouth, M.A.
„ (Lord Almoner's)	...	...	G. F. Nicholl, M.A.
Assyrian (new chair)	...	...	A. H. Sayce, LL.D., etc.
Hebrew	...	...	S. R. Driver.
Old Testament Exegesis	...	...	Thos. Kelly Cheyne, M.A.
Rabbinical Literature...	...	...	A. Neubauer, M.A.
Sanskrit	...	...	Sir M. Monier Williams, M.A.
„ Deputy	...	...	A. H. Macdonell, M.A.,

and some teachers besides.

I have before me the list of lectures (Verzeichniss der Vorlesungen) of the Berlin University, for the Semester, October 16th, 1882, to March 15th, 1883: I am sorry I have nothing later, but the advantage, if any, will be found, I think, in favour of Oxford. Berlin has the following:—

Old Testament Exegesis	...	...	...	Dr. Dillman.
„ „ „	...	...	...	Dr. Kleinert.
„ „ „	...	...	...	Dr. Strack.
Hebrew Grammar	...	...	...	Dr. Strack.
Sanskrit Grammar	...	...	...	Dr. Weber.
Reading Regveda, etc.	...	...	...	Dr. Weber.
Zend and Pali	...	...	...	Dr. Weber.
Sanskrit Texts, etc.	...	...	...	Dr. Oldenburg.
Assyriology	...	...	...	Dr. Schrader.
Syriac	...	...	...	Dr. Barth.
Syriac Texts	...	...	...	Dr. Sachau.
Chaldee	...	...	...	Dr. Schrader.
Hebrew Exercises	...	...	...	Dr. Barth.
Arabic Grammar	...	...	...	Dr. Dieterici.
Arabic Syntax and Comparison of other				
Semitic Languages	...	...	...	Dr. Jahn.
Arabic Poetry	...	...	...	Dr. Sachau.
Exposition of Quran	...	...	...	Dr. Dieterici.
Egyptian Writing and Language	...	...	...	Dr. Erman.
Hieroglyphic Grammar	...	...	...	Dr. Brugsch.

Now this list is hardly fair, because in the case of the Germans I have divided the work done by each man in many cases. But a mere glance at the list will show how much more is done in Berlin than in Oxford to further Eastern studies. Remember, too, that Canon Cheyne at Oxford, though the only Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, is also a clergyman with a country living and a canonry. Remembering this, it must appear remarkable that he should be able to give us such magnificent works on the Old Testament.

At Berlin during the same Semester you might attend the following classes :—In the Old Testament, Introduction, history of text, Exegesis of Isaiah, under Dr. Dillman; Hebrew Grammar, Exegesis of Psalms, Aramaic, together with Aramaic portions of Old Testament, under Dr. Strack; and with Dr. Kleinert you could read the Book of Genesis. Also in most of the German Universities students can attend classes conducted by different teachers in different portions of the Old Testament. This is much aided by the German custom of appointing extraordinary professors and privat-docents. But something of the kind might well be imported into our own universities. Why should not a brilliant student, on ending his course, be appointed at a nominal salary to lecture in his own department? This opportunity, of establishing a reputation and of rising to something better, would spur him to do his best, which would profit the students. Besides, reasonable competition would helpfully stimulate the regular professors. Each teacher has his own *méthods* of thought and expression; and it is a distinct advantage to young students to see things from different points of view under different teachers.

At Oxford most of the rewards fall to the lot of classical scholars. The only fellowship I know conferred for Oriental languages, was that bestowed on Canon Cheyne twenty-two years ago at Balliol. Nearly all the fellowship money goes to endow research in Latin and Greek. There are clear signs of coming changes in the interests of Oriental

study ; but congresses and individuals should bring all possible influences to bear upon the proper authorities, so that Oriental studies might be encouraged and aided more than is the case now.

Having briefly described what is done educationally for Oriental studies, I can but very cursorily refer to the stimulus given by the press in this country, and by the Government.

Besides the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, and some other learned societies, I know of the following publications :—

1. *Babylonian and Oriental Review*, published by Mr. David Nutt. This review deals mostly with the cuneiform inscriptions of the Assyrian and Babylonian languages, though valuable papers on other Oriental subjects appear from time to time.

2. *The Jewish Quarterly*, also published by Mr. David Nutt, is a valuable addition to the literature of the East ; but, as the title suggests, it is confined almost wholly to questions of Hebrew Scholarship and Jewish History. As there are more students of Hebrew and of the Old Testament than there are of the cuneiform language and literature, the *Jewish Quarterly* is of more general interest and usefulness than the *Babylonian and Oriental Review*.

3. *The Expositor* and *The Expository Times* are rendering splendid service to the cause of Old Testament learning. They are issued in the interests of Christian scholarship, and they appeal more especially to the ordinary student of Bible languages than to the specialist. They have done much to awaken a general interest among the clergy of all denominations in Hebrew and its cognates as instruments of Old Testament Exegesis ; and this interest already begins to show itself in the headquarters of theological learning, the Theological Colleges and the Universities. It is singular, and to be regretted, that no publication issued wholly in the interests of Hebrew and general Semitic Philology, from the Biblical standpoint, is

brought out in this country. If such a magazine were started, and the most learned Biblical students—Jews, Christians and others—were induced to write, much good would be done and the venture ought to succeed. The number of English scholars who could conduct and read such a magazine is growing so rapidly that something of the kind will become an immediate necessity. I much regret that the papers of the Society of Biblical Archæology are of late so given up to cuneiform and Egyptian; while Hebrew, Aramaic, Samaritan, etc., not to speak of other Biblical subjects, are almost entirely ignored. I am myself a member of this society, and perhaps I am partly responsible for its narrow programme; but any one who takes the trouble to consult the old volumes of the transactions and proceedings will notice a striking falling off in the general usefulness of the papers read now.

I should like to add some SUGGESTIONS to those thrown out in the course of this paper:—

1. Every University College in this country should be memorialized to recognize Eastern languages in its curriculum.
2. A circular should be sent to every Theological College, urging the authorities to include Hebrew in the subjects required for entrance, at least as an optional subject.
3. A letter should be sent, signed by the Secretary and President of this Congress, urging the London University to include Assyrian in the M.A. subjects, branch IV.
4. Arrangements should be made for the teaching of Semitic languages in the holidays. Ministers and students could be brought together, and an enthusiasm worked that would display itself in other ways.

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## THE GREAT PATH-FINDER

IN TROJAN AND PRE-HELLENIC ANTIQUITY.

*(Personal Recollections from 1877-1890.)*

## I.

IN all the biographical notices of Schliemann, nothing whatever has been said of his political views. In that respect, he certainly did not lay himself out very much. Yet there can be no doubt that, at heart, he strongly sided with the cause of popular freedom, in a degree only known to a very few who enjoyed his intimacy.

A circumstance connected with his earliest public appearance may give a clue to those who have only heard of him as an explorer in the field of archæology. "*Citizen of the United States of America*"—these were the words which Heinrich Schliemann proudly and, as many at the time thought, somewhat strangely, added to his name on the title-page of his first works. The unusual designation rather grated on the fastidious ears of those in Europe who, in years now fortunately long gone by, were loth to acknowledge that a self-made, self-taught man, fired by his enthusiasm for the immortal epic and dramatic poetry of the Greeks, had actually unearthed the charred and blackened ruins of "Sacred Ilios." But there was a real meaning in Schliemann's thus markedly pointing to the free country of his adoption.

During our fourteen years' warm friendship, it is true he but seldom touched upon matters political. Still, I can testify that, whenever he did, his remarks were in full accordance with the pride he took in his American citizenship. Once, referring to what Professor Virchow, the eminent German scientist and leader of the Progressist party, had said, Schliemann spoke very freely regarding the events of 1848-49. On another occasion, he did so by letter from Athens, after I had published some critical remarks in the *Academy*, on a book dealing rather inefficiently with the revolutionary movements of those years. I remember also an even more striking utterance of this kind by



Schliemann, a few years back, on his return from his last flying visit to America. Coming back from Cuba, where he possessed landed property, he was passing through London on his way to Berlin, where afterwards he was asked to explain to the Emperor William I., in person, the details of the prehistorical fortress and palace he had discovered at Tiryns. He then, in a few words of the strongest kind, though spoken in a mild tone, gave me a profession of political faith which left no doubt of his adherence to the principles of the freest self-government.

Some years before, in 1881, he had declared to me his sympathy with the cause of the South African Republic, then struggling against a wrongful oppression. As a member of the Executive of the London Transvaal Committee, I had proposed, and drawn up, an "International Address" to John Bright, a Cabinet minister who was thought to favour the restoration of the independence of the South African Commonwealth—even as he had been on the side of the United States, when the governing classes of England sympathized with the cause of the Slaveholders' Rebellion. It was hoped that an International Address would exercise influence on leading statesmen in London, if signatures could be obtained, more especially, from the foremost men of Europe, in science, literature, and poetry. A large number of such signatures, including those of distinguished politicians, were sent from the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy. The document made a deep impression on the public mind. It also elicited a hearty answer to me from John Bright, whose voice in the Cabinet was of vital importance.

Schliemann, too, had been asked to join the demonstration. Accidentally, he was unable to do so, being on a voyage of exploration when the letter addressed to him arrived at Athens. On his return there, he had to start again, the very same day, for excavations at Orchomenos. In the short interval, however, amidst urgent preparations, he wrote to me on March 24th, 1881, to express his sym-

pathy with the cause of the Boers. Meanwhile, peace having fortunately been concluded with them, his signature, he observed, was no longer necessary. I need scarcely add that Schliemann yielded to none in the feeling of friendship for England and in deep respect for the freedom, the greatness, and the power of this country ; but for that very reason he wished to see an act of justice done by her towards a free people that had suffered grievous wrong.

## II.

For the first time I heard, and personally met, Dr. Schliemann in April, 1877, at the German "Athenæum" in London. He gave a lecture there on his discoveries, before a large and eagerly-listening audience. I remember what a curious effect his pronunciation of Greek words, strange to German and English ears, had on some distinguished scholars present. Yet they might have known that he only used the written accentuation customary in speech with the Greeks themselves, and that, whenever he pronounced a vowel differently from our way, he but followed, in that too, the custom of the modern Hellenes. There were actually some who, for that reason, almost doubted his full knowledge of the Greek tongue ! Such doubts, I recollect, harassed the mind of a learned friend of ours, a Sanskrit scholar, who certainly ought to have been better informed. It only shows what extraordinary antagonisms Dr. Schliemann encountered in the beginning of his great career.

I have discussed elsewhere his mighty achievements, which I have followed from the beginning, with ever increasing interest, down to his death. Between 1877 and 1890 he sent me more than one hundred and twenty letters, many with the amplest information on his plans as well as on his doings. They are dated from Athens, Tiryns, various towns in Germany, Paris, London, and Alexandria and Thebes in Egypt. The vast majority are written in our own tongue ; some in English or Greek.

It was a peculiarity of Schliemann that, after having

been in London for a while, he easily fell into writing in English from abroad. French he never used when writing to me from Paris, where he also had house property, though he was familiar with that language, as with many others. When a trifle by way of fun, he sent a letter or a card in Greek, I occasionally returned the compliment by signing my name, at least, and adding his own in Teutonic runes; fearing, as I did, that to go beyond the mere runic signature would not contribute to the facility of understanding.

Schliemann truly had to fight an uphill battle against the exclusive book-learning of men who did not at once grasp the significance of the services he had rendered by his "science of the pick-axe." He, therefore, felt deeply attached to those who had supported him in the commencement of his struggles. One of the earliest great receptions was prepared for him in London, in 1877, by the Urban Club, in its then meeting-place, the antique St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell. About the same time, he came to an evening party in our house, where a number of learned men, authors, artists, and politicians—Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Indians, and others—had met to welcome him. Years afterwards, he still wrote with pleasure about that evening, because it was a time when the "Battle round Troy" was yet a fierce one, and many a contest had to be fought out with adversaries who would not acknowledge his astounding discoveries.

Being an honorary member of the Urban Club, I was glad to find that our friend, the then secretary, eagerly took up the idea of having the renowned explorer as a guest of the club. St. John's Gate is the remnant of the once stately Priory of the Knights Hospitallers, which in 1381, during the rising led by Wat Tyler, was burnt down in a seven days' conflagration. In the rooms of the ruins of this building, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in last century, as well as David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, and other men of fame were often seen. It was a haunt, in those days, of the London world of literature and art. The chair is still

shown which Dr. Johnson is said to have used. The groined ceilings, the capacious fire-places, the circular staircase, with the original solid oak newel, the extraordinary thickness of the walls—all remind the beholder of a long bygone age.

Under the double chairmanship of Dr. Westland Marston, and of the archæologist, Dr. John Doran, the customary club banquet was held on Shakspeare Day (April 23rd), 1877. Many authors, poets, and artists were present; also some men of political renown, such as the late Professor Fawcett, M.P., afterwards a Cabinet Minister. It was usual, on such occasions, to hand to the members and guests a printed programme of the toasts, each with an appropriate passage from Shakspeare. The welcome to Dr. Schliemann was suitably provided with the following quotations from *Troilus and Cressida* :—

“ In Troy there lies the scene. . . .  
And hither I am come.”

Again :—

“ The glory of our Troy doth this day lie  
On his fair worth and single chivalry.”

And lastly :—

“ Speak frankly as the wind,  
It is not Agamemnon’s sleeping hour.”

Mr. Gladstone also had been expected, and a toast set down in his honour. But before the banquet began, he sent a message from the House of Commons that he was detained there; and later in the evening a telegram came, saying :—“ I much regret my inability to release myself from my parliamentary engagements this evening.”

In the meanwhile, a humorous intramezzo occurred. Sitting near Dr. Schliemann, Professor Fawcett, and the young poet, Philipp Marston (the son of Dr. Westland Marston), I was surprised by a question addressed to me, in a low voice, by a press reporter who had come near our table. “ Can you,” he asked, “ point out Karl Blind to me? I am told he is blind ! ” Now, accidentally I had the really blind young Marston on one side, and on the other Professor Fawcett, who also was blind ! Evidently the reporter had misunderstood something told him in an

undertone by someone, and was rather confused. Sympathetic regard for my unfortunate neighbours restrained me, with difficulty, from a burst of laughter, and I merely whispered to Schliemann: "It would be far better to look for blind Homer!" But, forsooth, it turned out that even blind Homer was present—in a bust.

### III.

The President at the Urban Club banquet, having celebrated "The Immortal Memory of Sweet Shakspeare," in a noble speech, was followed by Professor Fawcett, who, in responding, made a passing allusion to "the distinguished services to science and literature, which had been rendered by Dr. Schliemann, by throwing so much light on the literature and history of the past." Then the formal toast proposing the health of the famed discoverer came on. Here Dr. Westland Marston said:—

"We have been honoured to-night with the presence of one who has rendered splendid and, I may say, unique service to the life and poetry of antiquity. Europe is anxious to know the results; but time must necessarily elapse before we can form a full and just estimate of what is due to the enterprise, perseverance, sagacity, learning, and enthusiasm, which have induced Dr. Schliemann to undertake labours so invaluable with respect to the elucidation of the epic and dramatic poetry of Greece. Antiquity has been brought nearer to us by exposing to the light of day precious memorials of its domestic customs and its progress in art. The natural effect of time is to obscure events, and transfer what was once matter of history into mere tradition. But I may say, it has been reserved for Dr. Schliemann, by his invaluable labours at Troy and Mykenê, to reverse that process, and, by flooding the remote past with an illumination altogether unprecedented, to convert what was tradition once more into history."

There was a storm of applause as Dr. Schliemann rose. The bust of Homer stood opposite to him, and he said he

felt inspired by him to say a few words of thanks for so cordial a reception, invited as he had been to celebrate, with the Urban Club, the memory of England's great bard.

He was indebted (Dr. Schlieman continued) for that honour to the divine Homer, because, but for his enthusiastic admiration of the Greek poet, he would never have undertaken the excavation of Troy and Mykenê. No doubt, there was no authentic information about Homer's life, or even where he was born. They knew Shakspeare's house, the day of his birth, and of his death, the date of his immortal plays; but of Homer, nothing. Seven cities disputed among themselves the honour of his birth. If Smyrna carried away the palm, and was almost universally acknowledged as Homer's birthplace, this was merely on the principle that we are wont to envy the living only, and not the dead. For Smyrna, destroyed by the Lydian King Sadyates, in 627 B.C., remained in ruins and deserted for three hundred and twenty-six years, being rebuilt only in 301 B.C. Smyrna, therefore, was dead during all the time when the enthusiasm for Homer was at its highest pitch, and when the rhapsodists went from door to door, chanting the Homeric poems. It was to this circumstance only that Smyrna was indebted for the honour of being considered the birthplace of Homer. Having finally alluded to Mr. Gladstone's view, that Homer was an Achæan, as being additionally proved by the monuments which he himself had brought to light in Troy and Mykenê, Dr. Schliemann sat down somewhat suddenly, without any of the oratorical flourishes usual on such occasions.

Hearty applause was awarded to him. An orator he certainly was not; his words are better in print than they seemed when they were delivered.

#### IV.

Some details on Schliemann's outward appearance may here be in place. Of middle height; rather slender than strongly built, yet wiry, and showing in his manner the

tireless tenacity which has achieved such wonders; of an eager and glowing temperament, easily roused by antagonism, but practical and calculating withal, like the successful merchant he was, he at once gave the impression of an energy surpassing his mere bodily strength. The flame of an ardent will always burnt consumingly in him. His roundish, well-developed head was but scantily furnished with hair; his face clean-shaved, except for a small moustache. His brown eyes shone with a brilliant liveliness. Often he wore a slightly pained expression, the result, perhaps, of the exertions and anxieties of his many years' toil in building up that vast fortune which allowed him to fulfil the dream of his life. At the same time, there may have been, in that facial look, a vestige of the early bitter experiences he had suffered, especially in the beginning of his scientific enterprises, from unmerited derision and envy. Add to this the physical complaints—in a great measure the consequence of his restless activity and frequent exposure in the open air—which finally hastened his death.

His voice was somewhat high-pitched, his delivery often in that kind of monotone which indicates an undercurrent of sadness. In his dark, simple dress, with his eager glance ever inspired by never-flagging zeal for work, he was the image of enthusiastic earnestness. Still, in intercourse with intimate friends, he, like most men of real genius, unbent in a remarkable degree. Then he was fond of jovial, sometimes also of caustic remarks, and of a humorous treatment of subjects and persons. Such he was with us, or among friends in his own temporary abode in London, when dining together, or in an occasional prolonged walk we had through the Zoological Gardens, which he himself had proposed to visit on a Sunday.

On one of these occasions, in our house, he was asked by my wife, whose great interest in his excavations had pleased him exceedingly, "which was his favourite colour in the various bindings of his works" that lay on the drawing-room table. "Blue!" he answered, playfully; "because it is

the indigo colour, and it is with indigo I have so largely had success in commerce, and been enabled to make a fortune." The English editions of his *Ilios* and his *Tiryns* were indeed bound in indigo blue.

In most pleasant remembrance have we the conversation with his gifted wife, who, from the beginning, took part in her husband's excavations. The first time we saw Mrs. Schliemann was when, with her husband, she appeared in London at a meeting of archæologists, and when, after he had spoken, she too gave a short lecture. Mr. Gladstone was present, and the difficult question was raised, how to solve the contradiction between the accentuation and the poetical prosody of Greek words. "Perhaps," said the English statesman, "the explanation is to be found in a sing-song-like raising and lowering of the pitch of the voice within a many-syllabled word; whereby justice might have been done both to the accent and to the length or shortness of a syllable."

## V.

The East was the ground which Schliemann had, once and for all, mapped out for himself as the field of his explorations. Asia Minor, Greece, and Egypt were attacked by him with the spade. Could he have carried out his intention of laying bare the whole Lower City of Troy—a task upon which his mind was latterly set—he would, no doubt, have afterwards gone on to dig in Krete.

In my fourteen years' correspondence with him, from 1877 down to his death, that subject is mentioned very explicitly. Years ago, I often urged him to try his never-failing luck in the direction of Krete. For, was not that island the starting-point whence, in grey antiquity, the very founders of Troy had gone forth, taking with them into Asia Minor the Ida and Pergamos names of their aboriginal Kretan home?

Once, when an important prehistoric find had been made in Germany, I asked our friend whether he did not think of applying the pick-axe, some day or other, to places in our own country, where myth and folklore seemed to indicate the possibility of hidden things.



"No," he answered; "I cannot pass from the greater achievements I have made to a smaller enterprise."

In his autobiography, Dr. Schliemann himself refers to such folklore traditions from his childhood. For instance, he mentions a small hill near the village where he lived as a boy, in which a robber knight was said to have buried his beloved child in a golden cradle. Schliemann thought that this might be a prehistoric barrow. In the neighbourhood of the hill—so another tale ran—great treasures were concealed under the ruins of a round tower. The hill itself is called the Wartensberg (Watch Mount, or Waiting Hill); because, it is said, a cowherd, wishing to warn a Duke of Mecklenburg against the murderous design of a noble, had waited there to inform his princely master of the plot. Such artificial and, as a rule, modern explanations are mostly false. The Wartensberg may be an ancient Woden's Hill, on which our heathen forefathers worshipped the All-father of the Teutonic race. The name of the Wartburg also, where Luther dwelt, is explained by some etymologists, from the name of Woden, Wuotan, or Wod, corrupted into "Wart."

However, it was always eastwards that Schliemann's eyes were turned. There, in truth, he had achieved the most signal successes, which filled the world with his fame. And yet he might have added even fresh leaves to his laurel crown had he, in his ardour, not neglected the most ordinary precautions due to the delicate state of his health.

## VI.

One of the first questions Dr. Schliemann addressed to me, soon after I had made his acquaintance, was:—"What do you think about the meaning of 'glaukopis Athenê'?"

Much controversy had arisen when he explained it as the owl-faced or owl-headed Athenê. Was it possible, men said, that the early Greeks had worshipped such a monster? On this question I have been much in contact with him, both by word of mouth and by correspondence.

Those conversant with the subject know that the owl-

headed protecting deity of the Trojans had arisen from a Phrygian Atê, whose name appears in Homer in a Hellenized form. The Trojans, of course, were not Greeks. They belonged to the vast Thrakian stock which once filled Eastern Europe and the western part of Asia Minor. They were kindred to the German, perhaps more especially to the Scandinavian, branch of the Teutonic race. Asia itself, as Herodotus states, had its name, in the tradition of the Lydian Thrakians, from one of their own rulers, Asies ; that is, (dropping the Greek ending) Asi, or As. It is the well-known name of Teutonic gods and heroes, from which Asgard, the heavenly castle of the Norse deities, has its designation, and which occurs in such personal names as Asmund, Aslaug, Asolf, as well as in some English place-names still existing, like Aysgarth. In their own tribal hero-saga, the Scandinavians declare that the Asic people, the worshippers of the Asa gods, from whom they themselves are descended, immigrated to the north from the shores of the Black Sea ; that is, from the very neighbourhood of ancient Thrakian abodes. Whatever remnants of Thrakian speech have come down to us, show remarkable affinity with Teutonic, and particularly with Norse, idioms. Thus—to give but one example—“skalmê,” in Thrakian, meant a sword. Dropping the Greek ending ê, we get the plain old Norse word “skâlm,” which also means a sword.

It would be no wonder if a primitive people, like the early Trojans, had worshipped an animal-headed goddess. This same religious symbolism is to be met with among such highly cultured nations as the Egyptians and the Hindu. Even in their most advanced state of culture, the Greeks had a Serpent Temple in which snakes were worshipped as tutelary deities. The cherubim of the Israelites were originally animal-headed. In Solomon's Temple a molten sea was represented which stood upon twelve oxen (1 Kings vii. 23—25).

Dr. Schliemann was much pleased on learning that, for a long time past, I had pointed out the traces of animal symbolism, or of open beast-worship, among our own

Germanic forefathers, whose heathen creed was otherwise of a grand and lofty kind. These special studies he had, until then, not followed. The Teutonic Hera, or Herke, appears with a cow or ox symbol, like the Greek Io-Juno, or Hera, and the Egyptian Isis. The owl-headed Athenê, or the ox-faced (*boöpis*) Hera, are thus matched on Germanic ground. Odin is occasionally described as the eagle-headed, or as the horsehair-bearded god : manifest remnants of his being formerly worshipped under such images.

Before the publication of Schliemann's *Mykenê* (1878), I had shortly referred once more to these traces of beast-worship in an essay in the London *Gentleman's Magazine* of January, 1877. It bore the title of "The Boar's Head Dinner at Oxford, and a Germanic Sun-God," and was written after I had been present, as a guest, at the famous Christmas celebration in Queen's College. In that essay, besides mentioning the contact between Isis, Io-Juno, and Hera or Herke, an old horn symbol in Hornchurch, in Southern England, was mentioned. It has apparent reference to the worship of Freia, whose temple walls, in the Hyndlu Song of the Edda, are "so saturated with ox-blood that they glisten like glass."

Many a contest on this question of religious animal-worship or symbolism among various races, have we carried on in support of Dr. Schliemann's undoubtedly correct theories as to the interpretation of "glaukopis Athenê" and "Herê boöpis," even so lately as in 1884, in a treatise on *Troy Found Again*. But to-day it may be said that doubts, formerly expressed even by learned men who ought to have known better, are pretty well silenced.

## VII.

When Schliemann had made some important discovery, or when his health, often affected by his labours, had been restored, he was in the habit of addressing his thanks, by way of exclamation, to Pallas Athenê, or to the dwellers of Olympos in general. This half humorous, half enthusiastic

manner also occurs in his correspondence. Thus, in a letter written to me in English, on October 19th, 1882, he said:—

“ I acknowledge with warmest thanks the receipt of your favours of the 7th and 9th inst., the latter with the manuscript of the English and German text of your valuable dissertation on the Ethnography of the Trojans,\* of which due care shall be taken. . . . Unfortunately, I have not been able yet to obtain permission to make the plans of Troy ; for the Grand Master of the Artillery at Constantinople thinks that I merely used the excavations as a pretext to make the plans of the Turkish fortresses on the Hellespont, and has therefore severely prohibited me to take any measurement whatever. I am hard at work through the Berlin Foreign Office to fight the matter through at Constantinople, but perhaps some months may elapse ere I reach that desirable end ; but at all events I feel sure to get the permission in some way or other. I am much touched at your and your dear family's kind sympathy with my late illness. Thanks to the Greek gods, our beautiful Attic spring weather, the daily rides to the sea, and the sea-baths, I have now quite recovered, and feel smart again.”

When Schliemann, in 1886, was about to leave Athens for Lebadia, where he hoped to unearth and to explore the Oracle of Trophonios, and afterwards to complete his excavations at Orchomenos, he informed me of his intentions in Greek (*μέλλοντι ἐς Λεβαδείαν ἀπίεναι, ἔνθα τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ Τροφωνίου ἀνευρήσειν τε καὶ ἀνασκάψειν ἐλπίζω, ὕστερον δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ ἐξορύξεις διατελέσαι ἔγνωκα*). With a “farewell” (*ἔρῳσο*), the friendly letter concludes.

Schliemann had acquired a great many languages in a simple, practical manner ; not troubling himself, at first, with much grammar. The latter he learnt by-and-bye, as he went on. With his frequent travels, and the many rapid changes he had to make in regard to the use of languages,

\* Written at his request, after I had explained my views of the Thracian and Germanic kinship of the Trojans ; and embodied in his *Troja*.

it is no wonder that an English letter sometimes shows Germanisms, or a German one some Anglicisms.

Once I found that he was still very fond of his native *Platt*, or Nether-German dialect. That speech is mainly the basis of English. It was formerly, and is probably even now, spoken in familiar intercourse by high and low in various parts of Northern Germany.

We were at table with Schliemann, and I had referred to the Germanic tribe of the Herulians, who in the early centuries of our era had, in their roving expeditions, pushed southwards to the Danube, and as far as the Black Sea. Their peculiar vocalization, resembling that of the Swedes, is to this day observable among Bavarians and Austrians, who have much Herulian and Rugian blood in their veins. Now, when I illustrated something I had said about the Germans on the Baltic coast by a sentence or two in *Platt*, Schliemann suddenly became excited. He gaily insisted on going on in the same Low German dialect; another guest present, an Englishman, albeit somewhat conversant with High German, could scarcely follow a conversation in *Platt*.

As I am from the south of Germany, Schliemann was much surprised to hear the dialect of Mecklenburg from my lips. I had to explain that during my studies at Heidelberg, a good many years ago, after having gone through Gothic, High and Middle German, I had learnt *Nieder-Deutsch* in the old *Reineke Vos* poem of the fifteenth century. Out of that ancient popular tongue, which has not changed so very much since, I then talked with fellow-students from Mecklenburg and other parts of Northern Germany, who preferred, in those days, their local dialect to High German, in their familiar intercourse among themselves. By means of Low German, I later on, as an exile, easily made my way to Flemish and the quite kindred Dutch, nay, even into broad Scotch and English.

On hearing all this, our friend became almost tumultuous in his expressions of delight. From that moment he made it a point, that evening, when offering another glass of

wine, or drinking our health, to do so in *Platt*. After all his travels in so many parts of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, he had preserved a very warm corner in his heart for the native dialect of his early youth.

### VIII.

For many years I have often had occasion, by writing in German and in English, to support Dr. Schliemann against antagonists whose deficiency in learning, or strange, in one or two cases apparently even ill-natured, opposition to the most patent facts and truths, sorely tried his temper. It was sometimes with difficulty, on such occasions, that friends could pacify his otherwise just indignation during controversies in which it was of the utmost importance—especially in a country like England—to preserve the coolness so dear to the native character. On the other hand, Schliemann felt most warmly attached to those who shielded him against manifest injustice. His letters were so full of expressions of gratitude that I felt sometimes almost embarrassed by their exuberance.

On the question of Hissarlik being the site of ancient Troy, and of the antiquity of what he had discovered at Mykenê and Tiryns, I was fully at one with Schliemann against adversaries who once gave much trouble, but whose views are now pretty generally considered errors. The only instance in which I held a different opinion from his was when he endeavoured to show that the Tirynthian, and in general the Kyklopean, architecture was not of Thrakian, but of Phœnikian origin. His theory, it need not be said, was at variance—as he himself well knew—with the tradition of the ancients. He was, however, deeply imbued with a conviction that Tiryns had been built by Phœnikians. The question of the racial kinship of the early settlers of Tiryns is, of course, not affected thereby; and Schliemann acknowledged in a letter to me that he certainly would not deny their Thrakian descent—in other words, their affinity with the great Teutonic stock.

A people of one race may certainly employ architects of another nation. Solomon's temple, built for the Jews by Phœnikians from Tyre, is a case in point.

I was, however, glad to find that the opinion I had expressed, and which I mentioned in a number of articles, was also that of so eminent an architect as Dr. Adler, the very writer of the preface for *Tiryns*. Being eager to convince me, Dr. Schliemann induced me to have a meeting with Dr. James Fergusson, then the greatest English authority on ancient architecture, and to whom he had dedicated the English edition of *Tiryns*. But it came out, during an hour's conversation, that Dr. Fergusson also held the great stronghold in the Peloponnesos to have been built, even as classic tradition has it, by Lykian Thrakians. He much regretted that Schliemann, after so grand and matchless a discovery, should oppose the very tradition of the ancients confirmed by his wonderful excavation.

## IX.

The achievement at Tiryns brought to Schliemann the gold medal from the Society of British Architects in London. He came in person to receive it. On the evening of this presentation it so happened that, shortly before we intended starting, as I was just sitting down to take another glance at an evening paper, the ceiling overhead gave way. I received a full charge of it on the skull, whilst decanters, glasses, etc., were smashed, and the room enveloped in a thick cloud of dust.

Still, wishing to be present at a ceremony so much to the honour of our friend, I hurriedly washed and dressed, in spite of the pain, and so we drove away to the meeting. Towards the end, however, I felt so oppressive a sensation in the brain, that we had to leave before the proceedings closed. In fact, for several months afterwards, a stinging ache of a very troublesome kind often recurred.

"I only wish that British architects were as solid builders as those of Tiryns had been!" This was the

thought which, on the occasion referred to, easily came up in my mind. Most inhabitants of London know, to their cost and discomfort, that this is a very natural wish ; much of the building work, even in the best houses, being "scamped."

When, a few days afterwards, I mentioned the occurrence, in a playful note, to Schliemann, he, with the warm-hearted kindliness that characterizes his letters, answered from Athens :—

"The disaster which has befallen you in your own house, has deeply grieved me and my wife. We are right glad that you have escaped with a terrific warning. In truth, it might have turned out a great misfortune. After all, in spite of every precaution, we are continually surrounded by dangers to life. So it was owing to so frightful an accident that it was not given to me once more to shake hands with you and your excellent wife on that evening !"

Alas ! by the dangers which continually surround life, he himself was suddenly taken away, when on the point of beginning a new scientific campaign for the excavation of the whole Lower City of Troy. It was this eager desire to overwhelm, by the clearest evidence possible, a persistent though often refuted and most eccentric antagonist, which drove him to death through utter disregard of the physical state he himself was in, after a most risky operation. Only a few weeks before, he had announced to me his intention of resuming work without delay : March 1st was set down for the commencement of his fresh exploration. I cannot describe the shock I felt on hearing the sad news from Naples.

## X.

It may be remembered that a truly distinguished scholar, Mr. Penrose, the late Director of the British School of Archæology at Athens, who formerly had entertained some doubts as to the great antiquity of Schliemann's discoveries at Tiryns and Mykenê, honourably made a formal retractation in 1888, after a closer inspection of the ruins. At a previous great battle of archæologists in the Hellenic Society in



London, Schliemann, accompanied and strongly supported by Dr. Dörpfeld, had achieved a signal triumph. His opponents, from that day, were "nowhere."

I will conclude with a few words, which I quoted at that meeting, from Dr. James Fergusson, as spoken by him to me. Referring to Tiryns, this eminent writer on ancient and modern architecture said:—"We evidently have here before us a structure dating back to at least 1500 years before our era. Through this great discovery of Dr. Schliemann, a clear and sharp division line is now discernible in the Peloponnesus between a prehistoric epoch hitherto enveloped in darkness, and the Greek epoch since the Doric invasion. Mykenê was, no doubt, built later than Tiryns, which, on account of the low marshes in its neighbourhood, had probably been found to be somewhat injurious to health. The agreement of the ground-plan between Tiryns and Troy is of the utmost importance. It practically confirms the ancient tradition of the raising of the Kyklopean walls by Lykian workmen from Asia Minor. It was a Thracian people, evidently, which built Tiryns, even as Troy was a settlement of Phrygian Thracians."

I wound up, at that meeting, with these remarks, which I transcribe here, in memory of my dear departed friend:—

"It has been the good fortune of Dr. Schliemann, gradually, in the course of his laborious work, to be supported, on the main points of his views, by a great number of scholars of eminence. They have expressed their firm belief that he has found the site of Troy. That, for instance, was the decided opinion of the patriarch of German historians, Leopold von Ranke. That is the opinion of Virchow, the distinguished physiologist and archæologist. And I believe I am only expressing the generally-prevailing opinion when I say that Dr. Schliemann's memory will live in posterity as that of the great Explorer who, by means of the 'science of the spade,' has conjured up from the bowels of the earth the long-hidden wonders of antiquity."

KARL BLIND.

## HAWAII.

BY MISS L. N. BADENOCH.

*(Revised by HIS EXCELLENCY A. HOFFNUNG, Chargé d'Affairs in England,  
and the Hawaiian Foreign Office.)*

It is towards the breezy West we must look for the young and vigorous life that is modelling out states and civilizations for the future. There, in the almost unlimited territories of the great American Continent, and of Australasia, and the Southern Hemisphere generally, vast commonwealths of Anglo-Saxon origin are exhibiting that marvellous social, industrial and political development which constitutes the latest manifestation of unceasing progress. Among these growing powers the little sea-girt kingdom of Hawaii deservedly claims a place ; yet probably previous to the year 1823, when a former Hawaiian sovereign paid a visit to this country, nine out of every ten persons were absolutely ignorant of its very existence. But now Hawaii may no longer be ignored, nor its interests and demands disregarded : it has recognized its place among the nations and has taken it, and consequently commands the respect and consideration of the world.

The Sandwich Islands, which compose the Hawaiian kingdom, lie perfectly isolated in mid-Pacific Ocean, in latitude from  $18^{\circ} 50'$  to  $22^{\circ} 20'$  north of the equator, while their longitude is from  $154^{\circ}$  to  $160^{\circ}$  west from Greenwich. Thus they are almost equidistant from China and Japan on the one hand, from California and Mexico on the other ; and they are the most northerly, as they are the only important island cluster of the Polynesian Archipelago. They are thirteen in number, eight being of considerable size, and the rest but insignificant islets ; viz., Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kawai, Molokai, Lanai, Nūhau, and Kahoolawe. All are inhabited, except Kahoolawe, which was abandoned a few years ago.

To reach Hawaii now-a-days is no very difficult task,

since it lies on the direct line of route taken by the splendid steamers of the most rapid mail service which exists between Australasia and London. Having crossed the Atlantic and found our way to San Francisco, "the Queen City of the Golden West," we re-embark there in one of the steamships of the Oceanic or Union Company's, and after a run of 2,100 miles, arrive, in a week's time, at Honolulu, on Oahu, the capital of the islands. The traveller from Australia ships at Sydney or Auckland, as the case may be. From the first, Honolulu is distant 5,181 miles, a voyage of little more than a fortnight; Auckland being nearer by 1,281 miles, the time between ports is from four to five days shorter. Or should China, the third vertex of the huge scalene triangle formed by these, the chief points of access to Hawaii, be the place of departure, the journey occupies from twelve to eighteen days.

The advantages enjoyed by these islands as regards position must be plainly evident. Were they nothing but a set of barren rocks, they would still assume an importance, lying as they do in the very pathway of trade between the United States and Australasia and the great empires of China and Japan. The completion of the Canadian trans-continental railway has revealed to them a fresh vista of prosperity. Were the Isthmus of Panama opened up, or better again the Nicaragua Canal, and were the proposed American cable or a British one to the Colonies laid, which is to touch at Honolulu, there can be no doubt they would increase the opportunities and inestimable value of Hawaii to the trading nations at large. When, in addition to this, to say that for exceeding beauty and grandeur of scenery, for fertility of soil and salubrity and equity of climate, it is a very Paradise upon earth, is but to state the simple truth, it will be seen that the possibilities in the future of this little kingdom are almost illimitable. The setting of the gem is grand, but the intrinsic value of the jewel is beyond compare. Had its situation as regards commerce been *nil*, its own wondrous

gifts alone must assuredly have secured for it a sufficiency of admiration and regard. I say nothing of its situation from the strategic point of view, though this points it out as the future "Gibraltar of the Pacific."

Oahu, as seen from some distance out at sea, is barren, rugged, almost repulsive in its desolation, totally at variance with what we usually associate with the word tropical, and with the verdant loveliness of the South Sea Isles. Bare, verdureless cliffs, of volcanic origin, sun-scorched and weather-beaten, rise abruptly from the lonely ocean to the height of 4000 feet; but, as we approach closer and closer, and round the south-eastern portion of the island, we find we must considerably modify our first impressions. The mountains, which form the background to the scene now opened out, are bleak and uninviting enough; but on every hand they are broken by narrow valleys and ravines; clothed with a profusion of vegetation and fertilized by running streams and cascades. To the right stands the picturesque promontory of Diamond Head, an ancient hoary crater; to the left the Punchbowl, another extinct volcano, gleams fiery red in the setting sun. In the immediate foreground is the coral barrier-reef, which girds nearly all the Hawaiian islands, against which the white surf for ever chafes and foams with perpetual thunder. Through this we pass, by a narrow channel, into the quiet blue waters of the snug little harbour; and then, but not till then, beautiful Honolulu fully reveals itself, nestling at the foot of the Punchbowl, on the seaward margin of a large grassy plain, about ten miles long by two broad, which stretches away to the hills beyond—nestling and almost hidden among feathery cocoa palms, banana, bread-fruit, mango, hibiscus, algaroba, and other trees and shrubs of the luxuriant tropics.

Honolulu is a quaint, charming little spot. Being the capital of the kingdom, it is at once the seat of government, the head-quarters of all trade and traffic, and the principal place of residence of the sovereign. Two long streets lead

inland from the wharf, and in these are the shops or stores. Honolulu is lighted with electricity—the only public illuminating power, and numerous telephones are in general use. Tramcars run through the streets, and railways out into the country. The stores are kept by people of all nationalities, but chiefly by Americans, English, and Chinamen. In appearance, they lean to native tastes; but the natives themselves have not much aptitude for mercantile affairs, and indeed the majority exhibit a profound indifference to the splendid science of money-making generally. Riches excite in them no craving, and thus gain is no incentive to toil. Near the harbour are the Custom House and the Aliiolani Hale (Government Building), a very handsome structure, immense in size as compared with the kingdom it represents. Under its roof are gathered the offices of the various public departments, of finance, of foreign affairs, of the interior, and so on, the Supreme Court and Law Library, the Hall where the Legislative Assembly meets, etc.\* In fact, small as it is, Hawaii has a government machinery that would compare favourably with those of the largest empires. Representatives, diplomatic and consular, of the United States and all the great European and Asiatic Powers are resident in the capital; and the Hawaiian kingdom is similarly represented abroad, including a *Chargé d'Affaires* at the Court of St. James.

Chief among the charitable institutions is the Queen's Hospital for curables, erected in 1860 with the sum of \$6000 collected in person by King Kamehameha IV. and his queen Emma, who were devoted to the welfare of their subjects. It is a large, airy, comfortable house, surrounded by beautiful gardens, and capable of accomodating a hundred sick folk, free of charge so far as native Hawaiians are concerned: foreigners pay a little fee. It is supported by a

\* The Government Museum has been removed to the Bishop Museum at Kalilu. Honolulu can also boast of public squares and parks, a race-course, base-ball and athletic grounds, yachting and boat clubs, an opera house, and unmerous benevolent and social institutions.

tax of two dollars levied upon every visitor to the islands, and by an appropriation from the Legislature of about 7000 dollars a year.

The Iolani Palace is an unpretentious but perfectly appropriate building, standing in about eight acres of prettily laid out grounds. A flight of stone steps leads to a capacious hall, decorated with portraits, presented by themselves, of Louis Philippe and his queen, Marie Amélie, and some vases and miniature copies of Thorwaldsen's works. To the left is the throne-room, in almost every respect like any London or Paris drawing-room, and a simple ornamental chair serves as the throne. The Court also resides occasionally at the pleasant little seaside village, Waikiki, the Brighton of Honolulu, a short distance out of town, where they have a cool native house amid groves of cocoa-palms. Honolulu likewise possesses a lunatic asylum, a prison, and a reformatory school for juvenile delinquents, under the control of the Board of Education, where children receive elementary instruction and a knowledge of manual labour. Education, indeed, is a great feature of the country; and by the latest report of the Board of Education, 130 Government schools, with free compulsory education, are scattered over the islands, and have a total attendance of 7,343 pupils. Besides these there are forty-eight independent private institutions with 2,663 pupils. So rare is it to find a Hawaiian who cannot at least read and write, that it is estimated that from 80 to 90 per cent. of the native population are educated. The appropriation for the Board of Education for the biennial period ending March 31st, 1892, is \$264,422.00. The teachers employed in the Government schools number 232, of whom 103 are females.

All travellers agree as to the exquisite loveliness of the homes of Honolulu. Side by side stand the villas and cottages of the foreign residents and the less pretentious but neat homes of the natives. The former are invariably detached, and literally embowered in beautiful gardens.

Some are frame houses, some built of blocks of coral conglomerate, and others of stone or of baked bricks. They are mostly two-storeyed, though a few straggle over the ground without any upper rooms at all ; and all are alike in the possession of wide, deep verandahs, in which the inmates lead an open-air life. Beautiful passion-flowers, gorgeous magenta bougainvilleas, venustas with their orange waxy flowers, clematis, and many more, trail and hang over verandahs and walls. Let the imagination surround such a house with lawns of brightest green, with masses of gardenia, allamandas, oleanders, with roses, lilies, geraniums, heliotropes, red and yellow hibiscus, and other flowering plants and shrubs ; shadow them by densest leafage of umbrella-trees, date and cocoa-palms, bananas, bamboos, bread-fruits, the glossy-leaved india-rubber, the delicate tamarind and algaroba, and one has some faint conception of the lavish beauty of a Hawaiian home. Not a single chimney exists to mar the sweet pure air. Yet all this tropical and varied luxuriance is by no means of spontaneous growth. But little more than seventy years ago, when the first missionaries landed on the site of the present city of Honolulu, it was a dreary, barren, volcanic waste. They, however, at once set about importing and planting trees and shrubs ; and, aided by incessant artificial irrigation, the result is the lovely oasis of to-day. A great impetus to acclimatization was given by Dr. Hillebrand, an enthusiastic botanist, who came to reside in Honolulu about thirty years ago ; and by Baron Ferdinand von Muller, of the Melbourne Botanical Gardens, who has supplied Australasian seeds and plants in immense numbers to the Hawaiian Government during the last twenty-five years.

Never was there a more gay, merry, laughter-loving people than the Hawaiians. Care seems unknown to them, work and worry a myth ; and the long sunny days of their summer year are spent in endless amusement and pleasure. The women, especially, present a striking contrast to the same class at home, and in the Colonies.

That weary, worn, down-trodden, passionate, or else hardened look, habitual to the faces of the poor in all our large cities, and so sad to see, is entirely absent in Hawaii. In a country where the duties of the home ties, especially as regards children, are mutually shared by father and mother,—where food is plentiful and easily obtained, and requires little preparation—where fires have not to be kept up,—and where but little covering is needed, and where the climate permits of an open air existence, need we wonder that the natives dwell as in an Arcadia. They are a handsome, stalwart race, the women well formed, with exquisitely moulded little hands and feet, long, black wavy hair, a rich brown skin, large, lustrous brown eyes, and teeth like ivory. Their dress, somewhat resembling a “Mother Hubbard,” consists of a sleeved calico gown, which falls to the feet in voluminous folds from the shoulders, where it is confined in a plain yoke. It is called the *holuku*. The men, except in very secluded districts, have discarded the ancient *malo*, or girdle round the loins, and appear in some sort of foreign dress, often white trousers and gay shirts. Both usually wear small straw hats, and are frequently decorated, round head and throat, with *leis*, i.e. garlands of flowers, many-coloured sea-shells, or feathers. With all their light-heartedness the Hawaiians are sarcastic, and dearly love to mimic and quiz the *haoles*, and nickname them upon some personal peculiarity. Both sexes are passionately fond of riding, and ride boldly and well—oddly enough, since a horse was unknown in the islands previous to 1803. The picturesque riding-dress of the ladies is a strip of coloured cotton—crimson, purple, orange or yellow—wound round the body so as to form a kind of loose wrapper, with ends floating on the breeze. Unfortunately, these skirts are going out of use, and are seldom seen, except rarely on festal occasions. They use the Mexican saddle, high-peaked at the back, with a lasso-horn in front, and bosses of polished brass or silver, immense wooden stirrups with great leathern flaps



to protect the foot when riding through brushwood, and brilliant saddle-cloths. They sit astride ; and as Kanaka ladies are now proud of being *bien chaussée*, only the very poor ride bare-footed. They dash along at full gallop,—a bright exciting kaleidoscope of colour. They are a pre-eminently hospitable people, friendly to and keenly observant of the foreigner, and ambitious to imitate his manners, habits, dress and luxuries. In curious contrast to their extreme indolence are their great strength and courage, and their spasmodic capability for violent action. Probably the general indolence, thriftlessness and shiftlessness are engendered by the climate, and old habits of life under the ancient 'Aliis or chiefs, and are not ingrained in the nature of the people.

The foreign nationalities resident on the islands seem one and all to have cast aside the petty grievances and burdensome conventionalities of life of their several countries, and adopted the free-and-easy, happy, careless existence of the Hawaiians. Men and women there find time to be social, true and simple, cultured and agreeable. There is no vain striving to keep up appearances, which deceive no one ; and no rule of fashion, stern as the laws of the Medes and Persians, to keep pace with which is to be for ever, as it were, on the rack of anxiety. Though much business is done, especially in large towns, like Honolulu, business is no synonym for hurry. Commercial hours are from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. ; nearly all stores are closed by 7.30 p.m. The result is health to mind and body ; and so life appears in rosy hues.

According to the census of 1884, the Chinese predominated over all other foreigners : out of a total population of 80,578, China men and women numbered fully 17,339. Originally the greater number had been imported as plantation coolies and workers in the rice fields ; and when their term of service expired, they set up stores or grew fruit and vegetables for market,—an occupation in which they excel ; or they became tailors, bootmakers, tinsmiths, and so on.

Successive relays of this clannish people naturally preferred engaging themselves to work with their own countrymen, so that they have done little to supply the planters with much-needed labour; and, by their rapidly increasing numbers, their patience and persevering industry, they are gradually depriving both natives and Europeans of many kinds of work. Chinese immigration has had to be restricted by law to agricultural labourers, under a bond to serve for eight or five years. But former residents are allowed to return under a Government permission. Since the above date the importation of Chinese has practically ceased, and the census taken December 1890, though not yet fully tabulated for publication, shows a falling off in their numbers of between 2,500 and 3,000.

As a substitute for the Chinese, large numbers of Japanese have immigrated. That nationality, which in 1884 numbered only 116, is placed by the census of 1890, at nearly 13,000; and the arrivals over the departures since the census was taken in December last, bring their numbers up to about 17,860, putting them considerably ahead of the Chinese. Japanese immigration has been suspended for the present, and is not likely to be renewed for some time to come.

The Portuguese rank next, being about 9,000.

But the islands are virtually Americanized. Americans constitute the ruling and moneyed class. Several of the important offices of State are filled by them, and the sugar plantations are to a great extent in their hands. The current gold coinage is that of the United States, but the silver is Hawaiian. Among the forms of Christianity which appeal to the natives, the Congregationalists are numerous; but they are largely outnumbered by the Episcopalians and Catholics.

The native language is peculiarly soft and pleasing, and so sweet and musical, that it has been likened to the warbling of birds. Yet it strikes a stranger as insipid, and lacking force and grasp, so to speak. Being easily acquired, numberless words are in constant daily use among

the foreign residents, in preference to their English equivalents. Such is the word *aloha*—it salutes you, bids good-bye, returns thanks, or conveys love or good-will. Similar in its comprehensiveness is *pilikia*, meaning any trouble from the pettiest annoyance to the greatest catastrophe, from the breaking of a shoe-string to the downfall of an empire. Two other words, *makai*, signifying literally “on the sea side,” and *mauka*, “on the mountain side,” are oddly introduced into ordinary conversation, just as are the points of the compass in Scotland; one is invited to sit at table on the *makai* or on the *mauka* side; one calls on a friend and is told he has gone *makai*, or *mauka*, as the case may be. The natives have no surnames, nor are their names peculiar to either sex. There are only twelve letters in the language, seven consonants and five vowels. Two pairs are interchangeable, that is to say, they do double duty and are counted only as two letters; *k* being also *t*, and *ʻl* being also *r*. Thus *taro* (the root of the *Arum esculentum*, of which *poi*, the national dish, is made) is as often as not pronounced *kalo*. Probably the two pairs are in reality only two letters unknown to the European, just as the Arabic guttural *q* has no phonetic equivalent with us.

Unhappily it has long been feared that the natives are fading away, though half-whites increasing,—only another instance of that apparently inevitable law by which the coloured race disappears on the white man's path. When Captain Cook discovered Hawaii in 1778, he estimated the population at 1,200,000 people, an exaggeration doubtless, however unintentional on his part. We may fairly reduce his estimate by one fourth. In 1832, when the first official census was taken, it was 130,313; in 1860 it had dwindled to 69,800; in 1872 to 56,897; in 1878 it was 57,985; in 1884 it was 80,578; and in 1890, about 90,000. But the upward tendency shown in the last three numbers is due, not to natural increase, but to immigration. Still there is hope that the native vitality will yet re-assert itself; for since the year 1878 the decrease of

the natives has diminished almost 2 per cent. The deplorable curse of childlessness seems to visit alike the palace and the cottage home. Kalakaua, who recently occupied the throne, was the seventh monarch crowned within the last century, giving to each an average reign of fourteen years; but, with two exceptions, not one has held the kingly office for more than nine years. Add to this, that the direct line of the ancient Kamehamehas came to an end in 1873; and the present sovereign is an Alii, or chief of high rank, an order nearly extinct. Among the reasons assigned for this decadence is the former horrible practice of infanticide, a practice that still shows its traces in the utter neglect of young children. A mother frequently gives away her new-born babe to anyone who will rid her of so troublesome a charge.\* A child sometimes passes from friend to friend, till it loses sight of both father and mother. The social customs as regards marriage of both high and low were likewise repulsive. The purity of the royal family could only be preserved, it was thought, by the intermarriage of the nearest blood relations, such as sister and brother, or nephew and aunt. The disproportion of the sexes and the presence of leprosy probably introduced by the Chinese,† also tend to the decrease of the race. It seems a paradox, but is a fact, that the introduction of civilization, with all its accompanying change in dress, food, and manner of living, deteriorates, while it improves a savage people.

\* It is a strange fact that the Hawaiians, while somewhat lacking the *parental* instinct and the sense of *parental* responsibility, are quite fond of children. The same mother who will give away her own baby is equally ready to adopt any motherless child within the circle of her acquaintance. Mothers have often been known to exchange children; and no native child seems to ever lack a home. Such a thing as an orphan asylum or a foundling home is unknown and unthought of, and there seems to be no need for one. Children are given away only to *intimate friends* who will adopt them, not indiscriminately, or passed from one to another.

† The Government has been unable to find proof of this, though the disease is known to the natives as "Mai Pake,"—Chinese sickness.

Strange to say, all the islands of the group possess two sets of scenery and soil, as distinctly opposed to each other as it is possible for any sceneries and soils to be. One half of the isles, generally speaking the eastern, is green with grassy plains, well watered, lovely with a very prodigality of indigenous and exotic vegetation, and fertile under the hands of the cultivator; the west is barren and arid, treeless and waterless, a parched and weary volcanic waste. It must be remembered that the islands are almost purely of volcanic origin; but all that the new, untried earth, fresh from Nature's Mint, seems to crave to become amazingly fertile, is constant irrigation. Now Hawaii lies fully exposed to the N.E. trade winds, which come from temperate regions, and blow steadily for about nine months of the year, and are laden with moisture by passing over 2,000 miles of sea. Lava rocks yield to the united abrading and disintegrating influences of sunshine and rain; and the results, mingling with the leaf mould produced by the decay of a profuse vegetation, constitute a soil so rich and productive that it is out-rivalled by none upon earth. But the rain winds seldom reach the other side of the islands; for most of them possess an efficient barrier against it, in the shape of a dividing range of mountains, which run generally from N.W. to S.E. throughout their entire length. These condense the clouds, and throw them back to windward in streams and cascades. Oahu has a curious gap in its ridge at the *Pali* (the wall-like precipice) just above Honolulu, at the head of the Nuuanu valley, through which the winds rush as through a funnel, bringing verdure in their train. But they have spent themselves ere they reach the town; and the contrast between the greenness of the upper part of the valley and the barren shore is marked and very striking.

The scenery of windward Hawaii is charming and picturesque in the extreme. Three huge volcanic mountains, Mauna Loa, Mauna Kea, and Hualalai, rear their snow-capped domes against the sky to the height of 14,000

feet, forming a triangle towards the centre of the island, their slopes clothed with dense forests of richest tropical growth, and grassy plains, which trend gradually away to the blue Pacific. They are seamed with numberless ravines or "gulches," not to call them "cañons;" and down each a river flows to the sea, varying in width from 100 to 2,000 feet. Many are nearly a mile wide. The waters of some, small and quiet, glide peacefully between meadowy banks to their final destination. Others, fierce impetuous mountain torrents, hemmed in by high precipitous rocks, dash headlong over boulder and precipice till they lose themselves in the dimpling ocean. Nearly all are liable to sudden and tremendous freshets. Cascades and waterfalls leap from the hills in all directions; and everywhere trees and rocks are covered with exquisite ferns and trailing parasites of all shades and kinds. The "gulches" widen out at their extremities, and the sea sweeps into them with drowsy booming music. Many a journey taken is but a continuous series of descents and ascents, across these "gulches." Thus on the road between Hilo and Laupahaehae, no fewer than sixty-five streams must be crossed in a distance of thirty miles. Having ridden for a few hundred yards along a lofty upland, the brink of a stupendous precipice is suddenly reached, a murmur of water ascends from the depths below, and in front is the equally perpendicular precipice on the other side of the tiny valley. A bird would skim across in a few seconds; poor wingless man has to trust to the unshod, sure-footed beast under him, to scramble up and down the narrow, scarcely winding tracks cut out on the faces of the mountains. On slippery descents the creature will gather all his legs under him and slide. On the more rugged paths, he frequently has to leap over masses of rock, some three feet high, produced by breakage; and this on a path where a false step means death. Dense vegetation often blinds one to the risk incurred; but many of the *palis* are utterly undraped.

Hawaii is chiefly famous for its volcanoes.\* Kilauea, the largest active volcano in the world, lies on the side of the mountain Mauna Loa, at an elevation of 4000 feet. We usually think of a volcano as a cone, but Kilauea is rather a great sunken pit, in the midst of a vast desolate plain, which slopes up gently to the summit of the mountain. It is a pit of no less than nine miles in circumference, and the area of its lowest level is six square miles. That level varies; but it is at present 600 feet below the surrounding country, and is reached by a steep descent down the sheer face of a precipice, which extends right round the crater, and as it were walls it in. Within the crater, towards its southern end, is an inner crater, with one or more lakes of fire, called the Halemaumau, or House of Everlasting Burnings, which constitute the true chimney of the volcano. Here Kilauea exhibits its ceaseless activity. In the outer crater occasional grand eruptions occur; but signs of the slumbering forces below are ever present in the form of blowing cones and steam cracks, varying in size from narrow clefts to great fissures, from which issue puffs and clouds of steam, fumes of hot, poisonous gases, and from some liquid lava. The general bed is made up of countless lava flows, of a variety of forms and contortions difficult to describe in the words of everyday life. It has been likened to a rippling sea suddenly fossilized. There are streams, rivers, lakes, cliffs, terraces, waterfalls, and congealed raindrops of petrified lava. Some of it appears like huge coils of rope. The ever-working inner crater is of course liable to almost daily change. At times it is surrounded by a circle of crags, thrown up from the lake in a molten state, and solidified as they rose: they tower above the level of the outer basin to the height of 400 to 600 feet. From the top one gazes downwards into a sea of liquid fire. Soon the crags, undermined by the forces below, may topple over into the lake, only to be melted afresh, and once more up-

\* For fuller information on this matter, we recommend Major C. E. Dutton (U.S.N.), *On the Hawaiian Volcanoes*.

heaved. When this takes place, fire is often choked, and dense volumes of smoke and steam, and flickering flames, issue from the vast pit. The terrible eruptions, which from time to time have threatened Hilo with annihilation, have almost invariably occurred, not in connection with Kilauea, —which usually confines its ebullitions within its own encircling wall—but with Mokuaweoweo, on the very summit of Mauna Loa. When this shows signs of life, danger is to be apprehended. The immense height at which it is situated lends a fearful impetus to a lava flow.

On the island of Maui is Haleakala (House of the Sun), the largest known extinct volcano in the world, its giant crater pit, resembling the yawning craters in the moon, being twenty-four miles in circumference and 2,000 feet deep. Sixteen subsidiary cones rise from its bed, some solitary, others in clusters. The base of the mountain itself has a circumference of ninety miles.

On the island of Molokai is Kalamao, a fertile valley of about 20,000 acres, walled in by precipices 3,000 feet high. Here is the home of the lepers. All who contract the disease are exiled there by order of the Government, with the view of extirpating, if possible, the dire disease from among the people. It was here that the Rev. Father Damien sacrificed his life, and that others, equally heroic, still labour at his work.

The commerce of the Hawaiian kingdom, in proportion to its population, is the most extensive in the world. The chief exports are the produce of the country, such as sugar, rice, fruits, skins and hides. The value of the total domestic exports for 1890 was \$13,142,829, which, though half a million less than in 1889, was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions more than in 1888. The imports in 1890 were \$6,962,201, or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions more than in 1889, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  more than in 1888. The exports exceeded the imports in 1890, by no less than \$6,180,628. Of the total trade of 1890, 91 per cent. was with America,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. with Great Britain,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. with China and Japan, and the remaining 2 per cent.



with the rest of the world. Germany figures at '74, and France at '03 per cent.

The predominance of American interests and influence in Hawaii is due to the generous and highly beneficial treaty relations extended to Hawaii by the United States, and also to the fact that the Pacific coast of that country is the nearest as well as the natural market for Hawaiian product. Under the treaty of reciprocity negotiated with the United States in 1875, which is still in force, the trade of Hawaii (import and export) has increased from \$3,052,811 in 1876, to \$20,105,030 in 1890!

Nations, like individuals, seek the most profitable markets; and no doubt if England, Germany, or any other nation could offer to Hawaii advantages equivalent to those given by America, whose main advantage is that of proximity, the trade of Hawaii would certainly be more divided in the markets of the world.

What porridge is to Scotland, that is *poi* to Hawaii. A native without his calabash of *poi* would be an anomaly. It has been urged as a cause of his laziness, that a *kalo* patch, 40 feet square, will support a Hawaiian for a whole year. True; but the cultivation of the plant, and its conversion into food, involves an amount of diligent and most exhaustive labour. It is grown in shallow fields of puddled earth, each root forming its own little hillock. The patch has to be embanked, and kept constantly inundated to a certain height, and the men work standing to their waists in water. The roots when ripe are boiled or baked in an underground oven, and may be eaten simply sliced. But to make *poi*, they must be placed in a wooden bowl, or on a slightly hollowed board, and pounded with a stone pestle, a very tiring and disagreeable-looking process. It is then removed into calabashes and kneaded with the hand to a smooth paste by the addition of water, and thus left for two or three days to ferment. In its dry state, before the water is added, it is known as *paiai* or hard food, and may be packed in *ti* or dracæna leaves for future use and exportation.

The reign of the late King Kalakaua was one of unvarying progress for Hawaii. Internationally its standing is immeasurably higher than formerly. This was secured chiefly by the proposal in 1885, by the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, regarding the perfect independence of all Polynesian States, and their guarantee by the Powers, against annexation upon any pretence whatever. The proposal received the endorsement of the United States, and was entertained favourably by the representatives of the various European Courts at Washington, and by them approvingly reported upon to their respective Governments. The perpetual independence of Hawaii is placed under the joint guarantee of England, France, and the United States of America. This policy also furnished an honourable solution to the difficulty that had arisen between England, France and Germany, owing to the recent annexationist policies of France and Germany in the Pacific. When the late king came to the throne in 1874, there was much depression in the trade of that most important item of wealth to the country, sugar. No country in the world is better suited for sugar production than Hawaii; out of its 4,000,000 acres, on 150,000 sugar might be planted with advantage. There are now more than seventy plantations with an average yield of three to five tons per acre. In 1860 the islands exported 1,144,271 lbs.; in 1879 49,020,972 lbs.: the official returns for 1890 show an export of 259,798,462 lbs. Put into smaller figures the contrast is even greater. In 1860 the export of sugar was only 516 tons, as against 115,981 tons in 1890. The rapid increase of trade is due to the removal of the heavy import duties which strangled trade with America, by the Reciprocity Treaty, which came into operation in 1874, and which admits free all sugar, the growth and manufacture of the islands, into every port of the United States. In 1881 the king undertook a tour of the world, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations with foreign Governments, and obtaining their consent to the emigration of

their people to the islands, for the supply of labour. His reception at all the Courts, especially those of England and Japan was cordial in the extreme; and Japanese immigration was successfully inaugurated in 1885. This was a movement remarkable in its social as in its political aspects, since the Japanese are not given to wandering. The Japanese on the islands have mostly embraced Christianity and Temperance, through the example of their Resident Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General.

With the motto *Hooulu Lahui* (may the nation increase), which he adopted on his accession to the throne, the king did all that human aid could devise to arrest the decay of his people. The most recent census, however, though it gives a greater total for the entire population, still marks a decrease in the native race, yet not without some hope of arresting the decay.

On the 28th December, 1890, the population was:— Natives, 34,436; Chinese, 15,301; Japanese, 12,360 (*plus* 5,503 more who have immigrated since the census); Portuguese, 8,602; Hawaii-born foreigners 7,495; Half-castes, 6,186; Americans, 1,928; British, 1,344; Germans, 1,034; Polynesians, 588; Norwegians, 227; French, 79; other nationalities, 419.

The total is 89,990; and of this 58,714 are males, and 31,276 are females.

There are good prospects of a great future for the country; and so far as human wisdom can forecast coming events, even the conflicting interests of the many nationalities which crowd these beautiful islands seem to work harmoniously for the general welfare, both socially and politically.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. III. page 207).

### XI.

#### A CASE OF DEIFICATION.

[The following is a succinct account of a case of deification brought to Sir Walter Elliot's notice, when in the Northern Sarkárs, a district of the Presidency, on the east coast, about 250 miles north of Madras. Masulipatam is the chief town of the Krishnâ (officially called Kistna) districts; and Nandigama is the capital of an inland Táluk, or division. In the Nandigama Táluk is a village called Liṅgalapádu, wherein is a small temple dedicated to the worship of Lakshamma. Every village, in Southern India has its tutelary village goddess, a malevolent spirit, refraining from evil only when propitiated by sacrifices and worship; and it is not improbable that the adoration of many of these had its origin in cases of deification, such as the present. The facts here are, however, so recent as to make the event highly interesting. The narrative is abridged from a written statement given to Sir Walter by a native official.—R. S.]

On the night of 1st *Mágha*, in the year *Sádhárana* (January, 1851), the body of Lakshamma, wife of Venkiah, brother of Chirumamilla Subiah, an inhabitant and village-Munsiff (head man) of Lingálapadu, was burned: she was said to have died of a snake-bite, but the local authorities were not told of the accident. Mr. Porter, the late Collector of Masulipatam, was then at Ibrahimpatam, Taluk of Bezoarah, when Degumarty Ramanah, brother of the deceased, sent him a petition by post, stating that she had been killed by her husband. The petition received on the 19th January, was referred on the 19th February for investigation to the head police officer of Nandigam. The official report, after careful inquiry, was that she had really died of a snake-bite, and had not been murdered. The late Collector also personally investigated the case. Before him the petitioner, Digumarty Ramanah, deposed that the petition was not his, but had been forged in his name, that its statements were false and that his sister Lakshamma

died of a snake-bite : all which was corroborated by the village Munsiff. The papers were all duly filed.

About three or four months after the death of Lakshamma, some houses accidentally took fire. The cause was unknown, though soothsayers were duly consulted. Meanwhile the deceased Lakshamma was reported to have appeared on several occasions in different places in a white costume ; whence people gave out at once, according to the Hindu belief, that she was metamorphosed into a devil.

Soon after, a person, as if inspired by the Deity, declared that Lakshamma had become a goddess, that it was she who had set fire to the houses ; and that if temples were erected and consecrated to her, and festivals celebrated in her name, she would cease to hurt and would promote the welfare of the villagers ; if not, she would set fire to the remaining houses. This being unheeded, certain straw stacks were set on fire. To escape such calamities the people determined to comply with the request. Ganáchárlu, the person inspired, declared that temples must be erected and dedicated to Lakshamma, Akkammah, and Seetama ; and three idols representing these goddesses should be consecrated in the pagodas. Lakshamma, on being asked regarding the forms of these idols, replied through Ganáchárlu, that she had in a dream instructed a sculptor at Condapilly how to make them, and that the villagers should bring the idols into the pagodas with tom-toms, and sacrifice goats and buffaloes to her. Some of the villagers going to Condapilly found to their astonishment three idols ready at the sculptor's, who, when asked, said that Lakshamma appeared to him in a dream, and promising to assist him in every way and to bless him with a son, told him to make the idols in this particular form, to be delivered into the hands of the villagers. This he did.

Since then, festivals have been celebrated every Friday, and attended by as many as 4, or 5,000 persons. They remain there the whole night, when Lakshamma, through Ganáchárlu, declares publicly the wish of each individual,

and also directs him for obtaining it to undergo certain penances, such as going round the temple for 5 or 10 weeks, etc. A few of Lakshamma's votaries had undoubtedly obtained their desires, and several persons under the influence of evil spirits had been freed ; whereupon men afflicted with various diseases flocked to the pagoda of Lakshamma ; and festivals were (and are) celebrated with unabated splendour, from Wednesday to Friday. Crowds come from all quarters—Hyderabad, Cummum Mattu, Nallakonda, Bhadradri, and other places in the Nizam's territories, and also from Bunder, Ellore, Kykalore, Goodavada, Bezoarah, etc. Barren women, persons deprived of the use of their limbs, or afflicted with other diseases, come to Lingalapadu for these festivals, and, bathing in the well near the pagoda of Lakshamma, prostrate themselves in their wet clothes in an apartment in her temple, while one of the attendants there sprinkles saffron water over them. Thus prostrate they remain for 4 or 5 hours, directing their thoughts fixedly on Lakshamma. Each becomes entranced, and feels as if some supernatural power were telling each one whether his or her expectations are to be realized or not. In proof of the former, Lakshamma, during these trances, places in each one's lap either saffron, a fruit, or a small golden idol, the last omen being considered the most propitious. Owing to these proofs of her supernatural power, 100 or 200 individuals thus prostrate themselves in the pagoda of Lakshamma every Friday night. It is generally said that the prayers of Lakshamma's votaries are rewarded by the accomplishing of their objects ; but not a single instance of a blind man having recovered his sight, or a barren woman being blessed with children, is adduced to attest these supernatural powers.

Some females of rank and distinction in the Zemindaries, in the Nizam's dominions, who were under the influence of evil spirits, etc., having bathed in the well, and performed the required penance, found in their laps saffron, fruit, golden idols, etc. They thereupon presented Lakshamma with

rich clothes, golden ornaments, etc. Every Friday more than 100 Rs. are collected in the pagoda. Lakshamma has ordered a stone temple to be built, and a tank to be dug near it. The pagoda has accordingly been erected at a cost of 5000 Rs., and the idol representing Lakshamma is consecrated in it; and the people have already commenced to dig a tank. Lakshamma says, through Ganáchárlu, that those who bathe in the tank when completed, will not only be relieved from evil spirits, but also from all diseases, and barren women will be blessed with children; but the truth of this assertion has still to be tested. The spot where the body of Lakshamma was burned is named *Bandáru*, or sacred earth. Her votaries take a handful of it to keep as a relic, and they place a little of it on the foreheads of sick children, and of those possessed by evil spirits. From the *Bandáru* having been thus taken away, a pit was formed, ten feet deep, whence issued a spring, which filled it with water. This is held sacred and of extraordinary virtue, and is carried away in great quantities by the ryots, who sprinkle it on crops injured by rain or inundation, in the belief that it will repair the damage done.

Lakshamma declares, through Ganáchárlu, that she did not die from a snake-bite, but was killed by her husband with a dagger, that the fact was wrongfully concealed, and that she has cursed those who bore false witness in her case, devoting them to grow mad and roam over the world. There are no means to prove or disprove this matter.

Lakshamma generally appears to some of those who are on their way to Lingálupádu, like a Muttaida, or woman whose husband is alive; and after purchasing glass bracelets from them (if they have any), puts them on and goes on her way, saying, that she is proceeding to the Kristna and Godavery to perform ablutions, and will return within eight days. She requests them also to tell this to her brother-in-law, Chirumamilla Subiah. After walking a few paces she suddenly disappears, whence the travellers

conclude that she is Lakshamma, and tell everyone so. In confirmation of this, Ganáchárlu, during the period of her absence from Lingálapádu, does not play his part, nor is any answer given to the votaries of Lakshamma; but after the time specified by her, things take their former course, Ganáchárlu comes into play, the festivals proceed, etc. Last March splendid festivals were celebrated for 10 consecutive nights, and people from a radius of 200 miles attended, some offering sacrifices of buffaloes, goats, etc., while others made presents of money, women's clothes, ornaments, etc. Many talk of their desires having been fulfilled.

Chirumamilla Subiah, brother-in-law of Lakshamma, distributes alms to the poor in rice, out of the gifts made to her every Friday.

[After this follows a translation of a poem relating to Lakshamma. I abridge it from the copy in Sir Walter's note-book, by a native clerk.—R. S.]

My sister-in-law (says Lakshamma) one day fell out with me, and bursting into tears, resolved on my destruction. To effect this she, a few days afterwards, told my husband (Venkia) that I intended to give my only daughter in marriage to a man I had chosen, and to live with them separately, taking with me my portion of the common property. My husband, hearing this false and disgraceful affair, sighed deeply, and looked angrily at me, and I feared that his ill-suppressed fury would cost me my life. I was extremely grieved at his having so hastily resolved on vengeance against me. Strange to say, all the family, except my eldest brother-in-law, conceived a hatred against me. "Oh it is impossible," said my consort, to his eldest brother, "to sound the heart of a woman! She does not distinguish a good from a bad thing; but on the contrary is ready to commit any crime." I saw at once that this observation was directed against me, and I thought of committing suicide as an escape; but on further consideration I abandoned my resolve, because suicide would bring disgrace upon my family, and make me incur the displeasure



of the Almighty. Meanwhile, my husband told his eldest brother, that in future he should feel little or no love for me ; that I should be at once turned out of the house, and sent to my parents, for having determined to give my only daughter in marriage to an unworthy man, and to live separately. On this, my eldest brother-in-law guessed that some evil was about to happen. He told his brother that those were merely women's words, neither all true, nor trustworthy ; that the domestic affairs of the " Kamma " people \* should not be published out of doors ; and that it was beneath his dignity to form so rash a resolve, which he begged him to give up. On this, my husband said, " What nonsense is this ? If this become public, a great stain will be put on our family." In vain my eldest brother-in-law reasoned with him: " My brother, believe me," said he, " the mind of a female is that of a Rákshasi; † females should neither be abused nor beaten." While thus trying in various ways to pacify my husband's wrath, he was obliged to go on a journey to Nandigam.

The third night after his departure all the family assembled and conversed secretly ; and I inferred that they were conspiring against me, taking advantage of the absence of my eldest brother-in-law. While I thought thus, my husband rushed into my room, and beat me with his fists ; then he sharpened a sword, and followed me to the place where I had concealed myself, fearing that *Yama*, the god of death, was come. Finding no shelter in the house I tried to escape ; but he ran after me, and seized me, and dragging me into a room in the house, stabbed me in several parts of my body, particularly lacerating my hands and face. Strange to say, not one of the family was merciful enough to restrain my enraged husband from stabbing me ! They all witnessed the cruel scene, and, to the disgrace of humanity, feasted their eyes with it. They cried unanimously, " Come here, come here, that is not the proper way. Do not cut

\* The *Kammas* are the highest caste of cultivators, and are generally Lingayets.

† Female demon.

her ; there is a sharp dagger, take it, and run it through her heart with a good aim." At this suggestion, my cruel, hard-hearted, and relentless husband took the dagger in his right hand, and killed me at one blow, at 10 o'clock p.m., on the second day of the increasing moon of the month of *Mágha*, in the year *Sádhárana*, while I was hiding myself, trembling, in a corner of the house. Soon after this, my remains were quietly carried to the *Smasánam* (or burning place), where they were burned with the usual ceremonies. My enemies, having thus quenched their thirst for my blood, consulted to invent a plausible story for my death. Meanwhile, I devoted myself to the worship of Siva, and continued to tender my humble services to Párvatí. But seeing that my enemies were concocting a story, built upon great falsehoods, regarding the cause of my death, I was exceedingly indignant, and began to adopt measures to take vengeance upon the murderer, his abettors, and those that had helped to hush up the murder. Soon after departing this life, I appeared to my eldest brother-in-law in a dream, and informed him of what had occurred. Startled at hearing this unexpected account, he set out immediately from Nandigam for his home. I appeared to him when on his way to Lingalapádu, and said, "Oh my eldest brother-in-law ! my consort, urged by the others of the family, took advantage of your absence, and murdered me with a dagger." At these words he was thunderstruck. Continuing his journey he reached home, and, being informed of my fate, he wept bitterly, and said to his brother : "My brother, what a shocking crime you have committed ! Why, we are undone ! The officers of justice will come in crowds. My dream is perfectly verified. Even if we showered rupees, there is very little chance of escape ; for murder will out. Shall I lament the death of my sister-in-law, or for you who will be undoubtedly hanged not long hence ?" While he was thus swimming in the ocean of sorrow, not knowing what to do, two persons named Mudigonda Virésalingam, and Darbhákala Guruvanna, came to my brother-in-law, and

encouraged him, saying, that they would prevail upon the Munsiff and Curnams to hush up what had really taken place, and give out that I died from a snake-bite. My brother-in-law, naturally wishing to save his brother's life, agreed to their proposals, but through no ill-will against me

On the seventh day of my penance, Siva appeared to me and told me to ask a favour. I begged of him to reconstitute four of the elements of my life, viz. fire, water, air, and spirit, into a deity; and to endow the fifth element, earth—my dust remaining in this world—with supernatural powers. Siva not only granted the request, but also bestowed his blessing, promising that daily, weekly and yearly festivals should be celebrated in my honour, for 100 years, throughout the world; and he generously endowed me with supernatural powers to communicate with the people at large, about the past, present, and future.

My brother-in-law, my husband, and others, having, as I have stated, decided on suppressing the fact that I had been murdered, gave out that I died from a snake-bite, and engaged some false witnesses to make this untrue statement to my relatives. I, however, conveyed to them the real cause of my death, long before these letters reached them. The headmen of Lingalapádu having assembled together, believed the false evidence regarding my death, and transmitted the record to the Tahsildar,\* who, thinking the matter of no great weight, ordered a Sub-magistrate to investigate the case. He came to the village and learnt from the people generally that I was murdered by my husband; but instead of doing justice to me, he availed himself of this opportunity for extortion. Urged by corruption and avarice, he made his eyeballs red, and threatened my brother-in-law, etc., that he would injure them by exposing the whole truth, unless 400 Rupees were given to him. But the said Virésalingam pacified him. "Sir," said he, in a humble tone, "you are a lord and a charitable man. It is now in your power to protect the

\* The chief native official of the division.

poor. Do so, therefore, and do not be hasty. Stay in our house, and there take your meals, if you please. I will in a few moments satisfy your wishes." That same evening, this mediator requested the magistrate to accept of a bribe of 40 Rupees and to draw up a false statement, confirming the one transmitted by the headmen of the village, that death had resulted from a snake-bite, and so drawn up as to leave no room for further suspicion. Irritated by this trifling offer, the sub-magistrate immediately drew up a true statement of the case as a murder, on the strength of what he had heard from the villagers generally; and he was about to set out to Nandigam, when Virésalingam, after a private conversation with my eldest brother-in-law and my husband, took a sum of 90 Rupees as a present to the fiery magistrate. Accepting this bribe, he destroyed the true statement he had prepared, and in its place he drew up a false one, coinciding with that transmitted by the village people. He submitted the depositions given by the false witnesses, together with other papers bearing upon the case, to the Tahsildar. This man had meanwhile learned the true facts of the case from some of his own servants; nor did he submit the report to the Collector,\* until a bribe of 100 Rupees had been given to him also. Thus ended this investigation.

To return; my parents having received a letter from my eldest brother-in-law, falsely stating that I had died from a snake-bite, contrary to the dream which told them that I had been murdered by my husband, began to entertain suspicion regarding my death, and questioned the messenger who brought the letter. "Please tell us," said they, "what part of her body was bitten? Where was she? And what was she doing then? What were the last words of our darling daughter? And who were attending on her at the time of her death? In short, inform us of all the particulars of her death." Thunderstruck at these unexpected questions, before a crowd of people, the messenger,

\* The English chief of the district.

humbly folding his hands, said, with a trembling voice : " What can I say ? To tell the truth, Lakshamma's husband ran a sword through her body, and so put an end to the life of your darling daughter." " Oh ! virtuous gem ! " exclaimed my parents and others, " you have been relieved from your troubles, you have left this transient world. Oh, we hope you are now in the service of Parvati ! " Thus my parents continued their bitter lamentations, when I said, through Ganáchárlu : " Oh, my father, why should you all weep for me ? The human frame is not everlasting ! It is said in the sacred books that honour should be secured even at the expense of life ; for life is short, but honour is everlasting as the sun, moon, and stars, studded in the concave heavens. You know the sacred books say nothing false. I have lost my life, to preserve my honour ; my fate will be highly praised by succeeding generations. Cease, then, to mourn for me ; put away my memory ; and live happily. Listen to me, my old father," I continued. " I fell a victim to the vengeance of my mother-in-law's party, by the sword of my husband, after experiencing innumerable and unheard of difficulties in my father-in-law's house." My parents having thus learnt the true facts of my death, fell out with my husband's party, and went to Masulipatam to prefer a complaint in the proper Criminal Court and to obtain justice. But my eldest brother-in-law followed my father to Masulipatam with a bag of a thousand pagodas (3500 Rupees) and said : " O ! my father-in-law, it is true that we have committed murder ; but please accept this money, and save the life of my brother and your son-in-law. We will give you whatever you require, if you only save him, whose life is now at your mercy." Riches generally prevail against right, and so in this case wealth overcame my father's affections for me, and induced him to join my murderers. O, God ! where is my father ? where my mother ? and where are my relatives ? How disgraceful, that they did not resist the temptation of money ! One and all forsook the just cause

of their once darling daughter for a trifle of base money. It is rare that a husband murders his wife, even though she commits adultery. Was it justifiable for my consort to kill me? Of those individuals that bore false witness in this murder case, through their avarice, some were suddenly destroyed, and their houses consumed by fire, others perished otherwise. I then desired my eldest brother-in-law to erect temples in my honour, and to establish my worship. As he declined to do so, I began to trouble my husband and my eldest brother-in-law incessantly, night and day. Then the people assembled together and thought it expedient to build pagodas and celebrate festivals to me. Meanwhile, my wonderful supernatural powers spread throughout the world, and a vast concourse came from all quarters to worship me. The sick and the wounded, the poor, and those possessed by evil spirits, flocked to my pagodas, praying to be relieved from their pains. Those that had no children, and in short, all that had any cause for complaint, had recourse to me for help. I accordingly cured the sick, and blessed barren women with children; and I satisfied generally the wants of the people, and accomplished their desires. O! People! if you say that Lakshamma was not killed by her husband, happiness of the next world will flee from you; if you say that this poem was composed through party spirit, it will be like the crime of killing a cow at Benares; and if you declare that I died from the bite of a serpent, the whole world will be filled with sins. Be assured of all these facts, and conduct yourselves as you ought. What honours did the Tahsildar and the sub-Magistrate gain by receiving bribes of 100 Rupees and 90 Rupees respectively? What advantage did the false witnesses get from their bribes? What did my parents gain, after receiving thousands of Rupees, by relinquishing the cause of their daughter? Nothing but suspicions, imprisonments, disgrace, and loss of life, etc.

I then desired my eldest brother-in-law to have a pagoda built in honour of my name, to dig a tank and to

distribute alms to poor Brahmins, as also to all others, indiscriminately. Having told me that he would comply with my desires, he consulted his brother on this point. "Do not," said my husband, with his fiery disposition, "meddle with me. I have heard enough of all your desires. But you may yourself do whatever you like."

[*The poem is incomplete.*—R. S.]

Three years after these events, while investigating abuses in the Masulipatam district, I found the belief of the people very general that the woman had been murdered, and that the case had been hushed up through the venality of the native police. The reputation of the goddess Lakshamma was firmly established. Her spirit had appeared to many females of the district, of undoubted respectability, some of whom I saw and questioned. I found them firmly persuaded of the truth of what they thought they had seen.

Great numbers of votaries still flocked to the temple of the newly-deified goddess, and rich gifts poured in from distant places. Probably the story of the murder was not without foundation. The native public servants were then notoriously corrupt, and both the Sub-magistrate and Tahsildar referred to were, in the course of my inquiries, dismissed for numerous acts of malversation. The Ganáchári, a public censor, one of the village functionaries in the old municipal institutions of the country, no doubt turned the popular belief to his own advantage.—[W. E.]

## XII.

### CASTE FACTIONS.

[This note was written in 1829.—R. S.]

THE majority of the castes in the southern Mahratta country, are of the Lingayet persuasion. They are the chief agriculturists, traders, and mechanics, and are possessed of great wealth and influence, yet they are constantly opposed and annoyed by a small caste called

Huttgars, a name derived from a Canarese word, signifying "animosity." Insignificant in numbers, they earn considerable profits by their trade as weavers. Whenever they are in the same village with Lingayets, a quarrel is sure to ensue, which often ends in one party moving away and building on a spot by themselves; but such is the tenacity and obstinacy of the Huttgars, that they often get the better of their adversaries.

The town of Gaduk-Bettgerry, in the Dummul Taluk, is the place where these two factions are found in the greatest force, though scarce a trading village in the district is free from the dispute. Each is in fact two towns. Venkappiah, a former Deşae of Dummul, permitted the Hattgars to establish a separate community, owing to one of these caste feuds; and they built Bettgerry, about half a mile from their former residence. They have since grown in prosperity, till now they exceed in wealth and numbers the rival corporation, which has fallen off in latter years. The dispute, however, continues, and as several Huttgars still remain in Gaduk, and as the headman of the town and several cultivators residing in Bettgerry are Lingayets, every year some explosion takes place, generally connected with religious observances, or the treatment of the priests administering them.

In A.D. 1818, the first year of the British rule, Nagappiah, Deşae of Nowlgowd, happened to be passing through the town of Gaduk on horseback, accompanied by a rich Huttgar trader, in a hackery, or carriage, drawn by bullocks. Now neither of the contending castes will allow the other to pass through their bazaars, except on foot, and then generally with taunts and abuse. The Gaduk men seized this opportunity of insulting the Huttgars. Surrounding the carriage in a tumultuous manner, they asked him how he dared defile their bazaar; and, putting a broom into his hand, ordered him to sweep away the pollution, nor would they allow him to pass till he actually tried to sweep. The Huttgars revenged themselves for this insult at the ensuing religious festival, at a village near



Badāma, an occasion when both castes assemble in great numbers. They denied the right of the Lingayets to appear in procession, with their "Chelwaddee," a servant carrying a bell and large brass spoon as their insignia ; and when their priest appeared on horseback in the procession, he was severely beaten and driven away. For two years the Lingayets vainly tried to re-establish their right, but not with much success ; and during the two last they have ceased to attend this festival, though it constitutes a grand mart for the articles in which the traders deal. The Huttgars, however, were at no loss, for they both established shops themselves and brought traders to supply the rest.

To return to Bettgerry. Soon after the above outrage, the Lingayets followed suit by attempting to parade through Bettgerry the chief priest of their sect at Dummul, but the Huttgars drove him back and broke his palanquin.

In 1824, some of the Lingayets declared they would leave the village ; but the Government refused to give them permission to build new houses. They, however, persisted ; and, carrying away their old houses from Bettgerry, they built a new hamlet near Gaduk, which they called Shapoor where they continued to pay the taxes at which they had been assessed in Bettgerry.

From this period the mutual bad feeling seemed to increase, but nothing serious occurred till 1826, when the Huttgars, having carried their sacred books in procession through the town, the Lingayets of Bettgerry declared they must have a similar ceremony. Their attempt was, however, opposed by violence ; their priest was beaten, and their party dispersed. They immediately complained to the Government, and both parties were ordered to suspend all such observances till the matter was settled. The Lingayets, feeling themselves the weaker party, shut up their shops and houses, suspended all their employments and business, and, going outside, encamped with their families in the plain. There were upwards of 200 tents, and they remained there full 3 months, in spite of all the efforts of the public officers.

The Huttgars now showed the full force of their animosity. Weavers, and acquainted with no mechanical art, they did all the work of their neighbours outside. For they went to the oilpress, and themselves expressed the oil from the grain. They set stalls in front of the shut-up traders' shops, and retailed grain, and all kinds of goods, for which their weaving habits, and the prejudices of caste, particularly unfitted them. When the Amildar objected to the fields lying waste, they offered to pay the rents. At length, the officers of Government, with much difficulty, effected a composition. The Lingayets agreed to return to their homes, if a Jungum priest was allowed to pass through the bazaar in procession. It was known that the Boosnoor chief priest had been in the habit of coming to the place as chief Censor—an extremely ancient institution, investing him with the character of a public officer. This, however, did not exactly satisfy the Lingayets, who wanted a new person with less equivocal rights. At last (1827-8), it was stated that the Faqueer-swamy of Seretty had many years ago been once allowed a passage. The Huttgars caught at the suggestion with avidity, and the Lingayets were also well pleased; for the Swamy is an old established priesthood of high reputation. The Faqueer-swamy came, and none were so loud in their welcome as the Huttgars. They tossed his "Chowrees;"\* they put themselves under his palanquin, and would scarce allow the Lingayets to participate in their eager greetings. But when they reached the great Lingayet temple, and lodged him in the Guru-Muth or Penetratia, making large offerings of money, etc., they showed their enmity. The Faqueer-swamy has, from time immemorial, practised all the customs of the Muhammadans, though still a Lingayet; and long usage has caused this to be recognized as his privilege. The Huttgars had kept half a dozen poor Faqueers and other Muhammadans ready for the occasion. These now came to pay their respects to their (as well as the Lingayet) spiritual chief;

\* Horsehair fly-whisks.

and after making their offerings and obeisance, they asked leave to hold a sacrifice. It was at once granted. In an instant the Huttgars, who had the animals ready, brought in half a dozen sheep. Their throats were cut by the Mussulmans, exclaiming "Bismillah!" The offering was made, and the rest dressed for food, and eaten in the Lingayet sanctum! Anyone acquainted with the horror of this sect at blood, leather, animal food, etc., in which they far exceed the Brahmins, may fancy their dismay and distress; but they had no redress. The Faqueer-swamy is an old recognized prelate, and they had to be silent.

The Lingayets remained quiet till 1829, when a turbulent priest, named the "Aravattmoon Yedi Tyer," or "the priest of 63 plates," came to Guduk. This name proceeds from the custom that, on his coming to a village, his votaries must, on the day of his arrival, lay out food for 9 Jungum priests, the second for 18, the third for 36, the fourth for 63: hence his name. Should the poor people hesitate or refuse, he sits fasting till they comply. This priest, supported by the Gaduk Lingayets, who urged on their more peaceable neighbours in Bettgerry, prepared to pass in procession through the streets of the latter place. This the Huttgars assembled in great numbers to oppose strenuously. The Lingayets again deserted their houses, and betook themselves to the plain, and remained there 4 months, the priest affecting not to eat the whole time; but still continuing in good bodily case. He extorted a bond from his deluded votaries, that they would carry him in triumph through their streets, or otherwise would forfeit the privileges of their caste and become outcastes. The matter was investigated and decided by the local officers:—only those Jungums who had a prescriptive right should pass through the streets of Bettgerry, and as this individual had no such qualification, he should no longer persist in his purpose. No attention being paid to this decision, the magistrate at Dharwar apprehended the factious priest, who was

brought in on a cot, apparently in a piteous plight, declaring that, not having eaten for 4 months, he could not walk or stand. When, however, the magistrate applied to him Sancho's remedy for the cure of lameness, an equally wonderful recovery took place; the famished Jungum arose and walked without difficulty, gave up his bond with an ill grace, amid the jeers of the multitude, and vented his bile against the Lingayets of Gaduk, by forcing them to feed a batch of his brethren in the geometrical ratio above mentioned.

A few years ago a similar dispute arose between the Huttgars and Lingayets of Moodebehal, regarding the right of procession through their respective streets. A *punchayet*, or convention of 5 arbitrators, decreed in favour of the latter, on which the Huttgars all left the town, and retired to the surrounding villages. Then, watching an opportunity when the Lingayets were off their guard, they suddenly appeared at the gate of the town about mid-day, when the people retire from work; and triumphantly parading through the bazaar, preceded by their insignia, quietly retired before the astonished Lingayets mustered to resist them. They then returned to their houses in Moodebehal. Some time after, the head man of the Huttgars died, and the funeral party was arranged to pass through the forbidden streets. The Lingayets would not consent; and after much contention the body was put down outside the gate, a great heap of stones piled over it; and there it has lain for upwards of 3 years, the Huttgars still declaring their right and determination to perform the obsequies in the usual way.

The standard bearer of the Lingayets, or Siváchárs, is the Chelwaddee, with his brazen bell and spoon; that of the Huttgars or Kooláchárs is the Singya. Both are outcastes; and the occupation of each, while bearing the ensign of his party, is to heap the most unmeasured abuse on his opponents. The Siváchárs declare that their Chelwaddee was originally a Huttgar, who, being reduced to great

distress and meeting with no sympathy from his own caste, was relieved by the Lingayets, and out of gratitude dedicated himself to their service. The Kooláchárs retort by assigning a similar origin to their Singya. Fourteen years ago there resided in Ramdroog, a Huttgar, who was detected in a serious crime. The caste complained to the late Narrayen Row Appa, the Ramdroog Chief, and demanded the punishment of the criminal. He was condemned to death. When the sentence was pronounced, he offered to compound for his life by the payment of any fine the Chief might demand—a practice common in all native states. The Huttgar was known to be so poor, that his proposal was treated with derision. So confident and earnest, however, was he in his offers, that Appa Saheb at last asked him what he would give? He replied, "Whatever you demand."—"1000 hoons?"—"Agreed."—"1500?"—"Willingly."

The Chief rose in his demands, and at last the sum was fixed at 2500 hoons, equal to Rs. 10,000. A short respite being allowed, he was sent under a guard to bring the offered securities. He repaired to the chief Lingayet's house, stated his case, and added, "You have long maintained a vain dispute about the origin of the Chelwaddee. I will now give you an opportunity of setting it at rest for ever. Pay the price of my life, and I will instantly proceed to the Chelwaddee's house, eat of the same dish with him, and, holding his insignia, head your procession in his stead."

The Lingayets caught at the offer, and immediately passed their bonds to Appa Saheb for Rs. 10,000. But the Huttgars, hearing of this, broke out in open tumult. At once, upwards of 1000 of them, augmented by the population of the neighbouring weaving hamlets, repaired to the Chief's palace, and asking whether he meant to govern with justice, demanded the cause of his subjecting them to such contumely and disgrace. Appa Saheb declared his inability to dispense with the large sum offered. They said that this should form no impediment, as they would

make good that, or even a larger sum if necessary, on his placing the renegade in their hands. Appa Saheb, seeing that he had carried the matter too far, and aware that the defection of so large a body of industrious subjects would entail serious loss to his revenue, agreed to their demand. Instantly the money was guaranteed, the wretched criminal was dragged forth by his infuriated brethren, and literally torn to pieces the moment he passed the city gate; sticks, stones, and missiles of every description being hurled upon him, so that scarce a vestige of his remains appeared.

### XIII.

#### A DEWAN'S DEVOTION.

GOWDA, the first Sir Deṣae of Nowlgowd, employed Nagojee Narrayen as his Dewan, and the office continued in the family from that period (A.D. 1638) till the time of Gungappa Nagonath, who served Lingappa Deṣae Hakee, and had the whole management of his estate. He lived in the latter years of the Adil Shahee dynasty, when the Kingdom of Beejapoor was tottering to its fall, and the royal authority, insecure in the distant provinces, met with constant resistance and opposition. Lingappa Deṣae distinguished himself in repressing these disorders, and was in consequence given the whole administration of the Nowlgowd territories, paying a fixed revenue for all the exchequer lands. His affairs were managed by Gungappa Nagonath. In A.D. 1691, immediately after the fall of Beejapoor, a chief named Omar Khan, endeavouring to improve the disturbed state of the times to his own advantage, took post in Savanoor. The power and influence of the Deṣae offered a serious obstacle to his designs, and, finding that he could not overcome him by force, he sent to propose a meeting for an amicable settlement of their differences. He secretly intended to seize or assassinate his rival. The Deṣae was persuaded to come to Omar Khan's camp at Morub, and alighted outside the town, which was occupied by the Mohammedan chief. Meanwhile, however,

the Deṣae's Vakeel, suspecting some treachery, sent notice to his master, who, finding his retinue much inferior to Omar Khan's force, was alarmed, and retreated towards Nowlgowd. The Mohammedan pursued him about 21 miles and came up with him on the boundary between Morub and Firozpoor (about 6 miles from Morub). Gungappa Nagonath, with his small force, kept them at bay, to allow the Sîr Deṣae to escape; but the enemy pressed hard, and continued to gain on him. At last Gungappa Nagonath, rode up to his *palkee*, and repeating the verse: "*Swami seva nutah prānā, anti tishtati mādahva*—" "He who loses his life in the service of his lord, finally obtains the favour of Mādhava," proposed that, as he bore some resemblance to his master, he should take his place, and the Deṣae mounting his horse should effect his escape. The latter, after some difficulty, consented. The Vakeel then donned his master's dress, and commending his family to the Deṣae's care seated himself in the *palkee*. The Mohammedan troops soon came up; the Vakeel was killed; his head sent to Omar Khan; and the pursuit immediately relaxing, the Deṣae reached Nowlgowd in safety. When the head was brought to Omar Khan, he noted the perpendicular line or *nām* (the mark of the Vaishnuva Brahmins), and said that it looked like that of a Brahmin; and it was pronounced by those who knew the Deṣae to be the head of Gungappo Nagonath. The Deṣae bestowed on his family a free gift of twelve *mars* of land (about 360 acres) in Morub, which his great-grandson, who gave me this relation, holds to this day; but in the subsequent revolutions it has become burdened with a considerable quit-rent and the original sunnud is lost.

[W. E.]

## THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

*(Continued from Vol. III. page 25.)*

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### THE PELASGIC LANGUAGE AND AREA.

WITH respect to the language, Herodotus says (I., 56), "The Lacedæmonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, seemed to claim his (Cræsus') distinguished preference. These nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellations of Pelasgians and Hellenes. The former had never changed their place of residence, the latter often. Under the reign of Deucalion, the Hellenes possessed the region of Phthiotis, and under Dorus, son of Hellenus, they inhabited the country called Istiæotis, which borders upon Ossa and Olympus. They were driven out by the Cadmeans, and fixed themselves in Macednum near Mount Pindus, migrating thence to Dryopis and afterwards to the Peloponnese. They were known by the name of Dorians. What language the Pelasgians used, I cannot possibly affirm; some probable conclusion may perhaps be formed by attending to the dialect of the remnant of the Pelasgians who inhabit Crestona (Thrace) beyond the Tyrrhenians, but who formerly dwelt in the country now called Thessaliotis, and were neighbours to those whom we at present call Dorians. Considering these with the above who founded cities on the Hellespont, but formerly lived near the Athenians, together with the people of other Pelasgian towns who have since changed their names, we are upon the whole justified in the opinion that they formerly spoke a barbarous language. The Athenians, therefore, who were also of Pelasgic origin, must necessarily, when they came among the Hellenes, have learned their language. It is observable, that the inhabitants of Crestona and



Placia, speak the same tongue ; but are, neither of them, understood by the people about them. This induces us to believe that their language has experienced no change. I am also of opinion that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered. When first they separated themselves from the Pelasgians, they were neither numerous nor powerful. They have since progressively increased, having incorporated many nations, barbarians and others, with their own. The Pelasgians have always avoided this mode of increasing their importance, which may be one reason probably why they have never emerged from their original barbarous condition."

Herodotus further calls Antandros a Pelasgian city : " Croesus moving over the plain of Thebes, and passing by Adramytium and Antandros, a Pelasgian city, left Mt. Ida to the left and entered the district of Ilium." Again, describing the auxiliaries of Xerxes \* B.C. 464, consisting of 1200 vessels, the estimated number of the fleet which invaded Troy, he " states that the Cyprians by their own account were composed of people of Salamis, Athens, Arcadia, Cythnus, Phœnicia, and Æthiopia ; that the Lycians descended from the Cretans, and took their designation from Lycus an Athenian, son of Pandion ; that the Dorians of Asia were originally from the Peloponnese ; that the Ionians, when they inhabited Achaia, B.C. 485, before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthos, were called Pelasgian Ægealians, but afterwards Ionians, from Ion son of Xuthos ; and in describing the march of Xerxes,† that the Athenians were called Kranoi, when the region now called Greece was possessed by the Pelasgi ; under Kekrops they took the name of the Kekropides ; and that the title of Athenians was given them when Erectheus succeeded to the throne ; their name of Ionians was derived from Ion, who had been General of the Athenian forces. For the same reason the twelve cities founded by the Athenians were called Ionian. The Crotoniatae are of Achaian origin,

\* Herod. vii. 94.

† Id. viii., 44.

and the Æolians were once Pelasgi, and the Hellespontians, a mixed colony of Ionians and Dorians. Demaratus, in his reply to Xerxes, calls the Lacedemonians Dorians."

Such, then, is the account of the oldest historian ; nevertheless, those of more recent authors are not without their value, quoting, as they do, antecedent writers whose works have unfortunately been lost. Thus Strabo relates that the Pelasgians are generally admitted to have been an ancient race, existing universally throughout Ionia, but more especially among the Æolians of Thessaly. Strabo's authority is Ephoros, whose works are now lost, but who described the wars between the Greeks and Barbarians during 750 years, was a disciple of Isocrates, and a native of Cumae in Æolia, B.C. 352. Hence his opinion and account would be but little inferior to that of Herodotus. He is of opinion that the Pelasgi were originally Arcadians by descent, who, embracing a military career, attracted many to the same profession by the fame that they had acquired among the Ionians and others, whereby the whole tribe acquired one and the same denomination. Strabo \* also refers to the two colonies of them in Crete, mentioned in the conversation between Ulysses and Penelope :

*\* Ἀλλῇ δὲ ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,  
Ἐν δὲ ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες  
Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δῖοι τε Πελασγοί.*

That part of Thessaly lying between the mouth of the Peneus and Thermopylae, as far as the mountainous region of the Pindus, is called the Pelasgian Argos, because inhabited by Pelasgians. Jupiter is also there called Pelasgian.

*Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖς πελασγικέ.*

Marsh draws attention to Thrace being the original seat of Greek song and fable. Thamyras, who challenged the Muses, was a Thracian. So was Orpheus, and so Musaeus ; and the Cabirian mysteries were celebrated in Samothracia,

\* Scylax's Periplus, Geo : Vet : Script : Min : Hudson, i. 27 ; Strabo x. 471 ; Id. ii. 594.

before the existence of the Delphic oracle. Hence he concludes that Thrace was the first country in Europe in which the Pelasgi established themselves, and whence they pushed forwards. Whether the Pelasgi extruded the Scythians, or the Scythians the Pelasgi, is immaterial.

And Hesiod says :

Δωδωνὴν φηγόν τε Πελάσγων ἔδρανον ἦεν.

In Homer, Σέλλοι and Helloi are synonymous ; for he calls the people round Dodona by this name, and describes them as lying on the ground, with unwashed feet.

Strabo describes the Pelasgi as driven into Eubœa by the Lapithæ, and now settled in the Pelasgian plain, where are Larissa, Gertone, Pherae, Mœpsium, the lake of Bæbesthe Homolé, Pelium and Magnetii ; while the tribe living in the southern part of the Ambraccan Gulph are called Molossi. The dwellers of Pompeii, Strabo says, were originally Osci, and afterwards Etrusci, and Pelasgi.

Æschylus in his "Suppliants, or Danaides," makes Argos near Mycene their fatherland ; and Euripedes in Archelaus, says :

Δάναος πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ  
ἔλθων εἰς Ἄργος ᾤκισεν Ἰνάχου πόλιν  
Πελασγίωτας δὲ ὀνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν  
Δανάους καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκεν.

Anticlides relates that the first Pelasgians built in the neighbouring Lemnos, and that certain of them sailed with Tyrrhenos, son of Atys, to Italy. Such is the account of the Attic writers, respecting the Pelasgians, that those who were in Athens, and those who wandered hither and thither like birds, were by the people of Attica called Pelargos or Storks—evidently a false derivation.

Pausanias, quoting Acius, writes : "The Arcadians say that the first inhabitants of Elis were Pelasgic ; but thinks that not these alone, but others also dwelt in that district, and that they excelled other men in size, strength and martial endowments." Were these others of the Greek race ?

Ἀντίθετόν δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὀφινόμοισιν ὄρεσι  
Γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν ἵνα θρηγκῶν γένος εἴη.

Pelasgus, when he began to reign, first taught the rude men to wear coverings, against the cold showers and heat, and to construct dwellings. He also introduced tunics of pig's hide, which the weaker men still use in Eubœa. He also says they then lived on raw herbs, but that Pelasgus taught them to eat beech-nuts. This is obviously a mere mythical description of a savage state of society, and is somewhat similar to that alluded to by Ovid, who writes :

“Mutabant glandes utiliore cibo.”

Pelasgus is the Eponymus of the stock, according to the views of foreigners. The English term for the Cymraig, “Welsh,” is a word unknown in their language, and in the Teutonic signifies “foreign.” Thus that part of the Tyrol inhabited by Germans is termed Das Deutsche Tyrol, and the part where Italian is spoken Das Welsche Tyrol. In Gaelic the Highlanders are called Albanaich, and Cöille-daoine, Albanians and Forresters. In short, foreigners call many nations by other than the native name: Deutsch—German; Tszech—Bohemian; Magyar—Hungarian; etc. Thus Pelasgian would appear to be the Greek denomination for the Shkypetar. Many derivations have been suggested; but although these have a foundation in Greek, they have none in Shkypetar. In point of fact there is no reasonable derivation in Greek. The word may possibly be a corruption of Palesta. But if a derivation be sought at all in Greek, it most likely is *πέλας*, neighbours; and then the denomination only dated from the establishment of colonies of some other race (of which, however, there is no trace) in Pelasgia. This, ethnographically speaking, would be in comparatively modern times, probably after the siege of Troy, whenever that event may have happened. Pelasgus was impersonified into the first ruler and Eponymus of the race. The derivation should probably be sought in a Sanskrit affinity.

Pococke, in his “India in Greece,” remarks that whenever the origin of a race is lost in antiquity, a divine origin

is attributed to the Eponymus. Macædon, Lacedæmon, Dardanus, Scythes and Corinthus were all sons of Zeus, as Thrax was of Ares, and Bæotus of Poseidon." \* Niebuhr † remarks on the hellenizing effect of the Greek languages, and says that Asia Minor began to be hellenized while as yet few Greeks had settled among them. The similarity between Sanskrit and Greek Latin and Gothic is unquestionable." Pococke then proceeds to show the descent of the Pelasgi from India by explaining, from Sanskrit, Greek names not referable to any Greek root, and refers to the Pelasgian, which he maintains to be the Pali dialect of the Sanskrit. "There is, perhaps," he remarks, "nothing more mysterious in the wide-spread circle of antiquity than the character, wanderings and original seats of the Pelasgi, a people whose history has baffled the inquiries of well-informed Greeks of antiquity, and the ingenuity of modern research ‡ . . . *Pelasa*, the ancient name of the province of Bahar, is so denominated from the *Pelasa* or *Butea frondosa*. *Pelaska* is a derivation from *Pelasa*, whence the Greek "Pelasgos" . . . Maghedan (Makedonia) another name for the same province: *Magha* in Sanskrit is called 'The Offspring of the Sun;' the *Maghadas* settled in the region then called *Kikada*; these emigrated westward in force, collecting kindred tribes in their passage." He concludes after quoting Niebuhr, § "I will here close my account of these researches, for I feel the greater extent they assign to the Pelasgians, the more scruples they will raise. . . . It is not a mere hypothesis; but with full historical conviction that I assert, there was a time when the Pelasgians, then perhaps more widely spread than any other people in Europe, extended from the Po and the Arno almost to the Bosphorus. The line of their possession was, however, broken in Thrace; so that the chain between the Tyrrhenians of Asia and the Pelasgians of Argos was only kept up by the Isles in the north of the Ægean." This latter doubt may be questioned; for Thrace, we saw, was the cradle

\* Introduction.

† Nieb. Hist. Rom. i. 56.

‡ P. 28, l.c.

of Greek song, the country of the Pelasgian Orpheus. It would appear that Thrace was, at one time at least, Pelasgic.

“ But in the days of Hellenicus ” (he continues) “ all that was left of this immense race, still retaining its language, was solitary, detached and widely scattered remnants, such as the Keltic tribes in Spain, like whom they were supposed to have been, not the fragments of a great people, but settlements formed by emigration in the same manner as those of the Greeks, which lay similarly dispersed.” When Niebuhr wrote, Ethnology was a new science and still in its infancy. Had he written later, he would probably have discovered that of that numerous wave of immigration, a compact body of 200,000 Pelasgi, still remain between the lake of Scodra, and the Ambracian Gulph (of Prevesa), and the Ægean, unmixed and unadulterated ; and a large population of the same race in different countries outside this boundary, who in warlike qualities would not disgrace the Rajpoots and Kshetrya, from whom they are descended. Pococke, having exposed the absurdity of deriving Pelasgic words from Greek, which he compares to tracing Gaelic local names in England to English roots, discusses the derivation of Pelasgic designations as they appear in their Greek dress from Sanskrit, the common relative, if not the parent of both Pelasgic and Greek. Little is here practicable beyond giving the results of his investigations.

The Abantes, he insists, were a Rajpoot race in Malwa. King Pelasgos,\* son of Palæ-cthon, “ old land,” according to the Greeks, but in fact “ Pali-chthon,” the land of Pali, the language of Pelasa. Gavà was not the *Γαῖα μελαίνη* of Acius (who wrote B.C. 700), but *Gaià*, the sacred city of Pelasa. The Ozolæ, who inhabited the Eastern portion of Ætolia, said to be so called from Ozee, the ill odour of their vestments, made of the raw hides of wild beasts, were in truth so termed from “ Ookshwalæ,” people of the Oxus. That the Greek etymology of *κύκλωψ* is round-eyed ; whereas it is “ Gocla-pes,” Gocla chiefs,

\* Æsch. Supp. 248.

gocla being a herd of cattle, identic with the present Shkypetar word; and Cyclades "Gocla-des," shepherd land. Poccoke is perfectly right in observing, that when the Kyklopean walls were built, the Greek of Homer was not in existence; and that the Pelasgian language is thus brought into connexion with the people who were said to have built these walls.

Here are a few instances :—

Cori-Indus, Κορίνδος—the tribe from the region at the mouth of that river.  
Eu-Bh'rat-es, Εὐφράτης—the Bharat chief.

Hyd-asp-es, Ὑδάσπης—river of the Horse chiefs.

Ace-sin-es—chiefs of the waters of the Indus (Sindh) River.

Hela, Ἑλλάς; Helaines, Ἑλλήνες—chiefs of the Hela; Heli, the sun;

Hel-en, sun-king,—Hela-des, Land of Hela.

Logurh, Λόκρος.

Baihootians, Behut, Baihooti—people of Behut; Βοιώτοι.

Attac-Barrier; Attac-thans—people of the Attac Land.

Tattaskes, τέττιγες—people of Tatta.

Bhili-pes, φιλίππος—Bhil-prince.

Dod is still a Shkypetar name—Doda-nim. (Gen. 10, 4.)

Kailas, a mountain; the watershed of the Indus; κοιλὸς, heaven. Kylas is the paradise of the Hindus.

Heri-cul-es, Ἡρακλῆς—Heri tribes' chiefs.

Les-poi, Λέσβοι—chiefs of Les.

Sur-wani-cus, Σαρονικός.

Arghasan, Ἄργος—Argh-walas, Ἀργολίς—inhabitants of Arghas.

Akkaihu, Ἀχαιοὶ Kahun, χαόνια. Kheran, Κεραυνὸς.

A-Sindan-es, Ασίντανες—non-Sindhians.

### In Afghanistan :—

Pind, πίνδος—Salt range.

Daman, Ἀδαμάνια—border.

Tallar in the Daman—People of the border—τέλλαρες.

Ac-Helous, ἀχελῶς—water of Hela.

Arac-thus, Ἀράχθοος—river of the Arac Land.

Kirketcha, Κερκέτιος.

Gangyus, Γούνεος—the Hindu Mars.

Thes-salia, Θεσσαλία—land of Shal.

Pur-Sal, φάρσελος—Shali in Afghanistan.

Sverga, Σπερχεῖος—of the Ganges.

Heyanians, Guoanians, Ἰώνιοι—the Horse tribes. Hepairus, Ἑπείρος.

Chara-drus, Δρύσπες—chiefs of the Draus—dru-i-pes.

Dor-Mer, the river and the great mountain in Cashmir—τόμαρος.

Elooths, Ἐλώται—a Tatar tribe, supplanted and enslaved by the Pelasgians.

Kandhairs—from Kandahar—*κένταυροι* ; Kand-dhara—country of streams.  
Harwar, *Ἡρώως*—Kand-Hor, country of the Haro tribes.

Bhats—Bards of the Rajpoots, an hereditary office ; the Charons are the bards of the Catti.

Peer-theios—holy saint—*φῆρ θεῖος*.

Centaurs, so called by Pindar—*Candharoi*.

Kyber-poor, *Ὑπερβόρειοι, Κύβαρα, Κόφαιρα*. Caironaya, *χαιρονεία*.

Baltæia, people of Balti—*Πλυτεία*. Des-Bhratians, *θεσπρώτια*.

Dre-ban, *Δρεπάνη*. Cabul, Gopal, *κεφαλλήνη*.

Carna, *Ἀκαρνάνια*. He-pa-is-des, *Ἡφαίγος*—chiefs of Hegaland.

Apart from Pococke's geographical theory that the Pelasgi were Rajpoots, who arrived in tribes from various parts of the Indian continent, the examples he gives show the connection between the Sanskrit and modern Albanian or Shkypetar, and place that language in the Aryan map. But this does not show that their arrival was antecedent to that of the Greeks. Though many of their words may be interpreted by Shkypetar, they either have not a root in Greek, or a false derivation is attributed to them by seeking it in that language, whereas a more appropriate meaning can be found for them in Sanskrit. Of this, Kyklops is the most striking instance, and shows how superadded poetical myth has distorted the real signification of the word. Shkypetar must not therefore be interpreted by Greek, but by Sanskrit. This being so becomes strong evidence that the Homeric poems were first sung in Pelasgic, and subsequently translated into Greek, by the successors of the Pelasgic bards. Although the original archaic Greek has not survived, its existence is obvious by careful observation of the changes, which it has undergone, by tracing them backwards from the last classical author to Homer and Hesiod.

#### RECENT HISTORY OF THE EPEIROTS AND GREEKS.

Returning to more modern times, it is seen that the Pelasgic family always held itself distinct from the Greek race, as Herodotus said it did in ancient times, neither sharing its sympathies nor its aversions.



On the return of the Epeirates from Italy, in 274 B.C., Tyrrhen defeated Antigonos, and became ruler of Macedon and the Epeiros combined, though on his death the former revolted, and Alexander, son of Pyrrhus, now their king, declared war. From this epoch there followed an alternation of union and disunion between the two people, of greater or shorter duration; but neither had recourse to Greece with a view of annexation or of alliance.

When the Romans, irritated by Perseus, declared war, no application was made to the Greek republics for aid. This proves, that the alliance which had existed under Philip, by his admission into the Amphictyonic Council, was purely personal and political. This had ceased with his death, and the prior state of things had resumed its sway. On the other hand, the Epeirates and Illyrians, who were Macedonians in race and tongue, driven away by the Æolians and Ionians, rushed as one man to the aid of Perseus, and were involved in the common ruin which followed the defeat of Pydna. Macedonia was divided into four provinces, under Roman supremacy, while the Epeiros was devastated, its inhabitants reduced to slavery, and its ruler, Gentius, carried to Rome to adorn the triumph of the conqueror. Later, Greece shared the same fate. The Romans destroyed its dependence, and annexed it to their empire. It was, moreover, despoiled of its wealth, and of those excellent works of art which have, even to the present age, impressed the stamp of its genius on posterity. In the time of Aurelian, the Goths subdued the kingdom of the Bosphorus, plundered the cities of Bithynia, ravaged Greece and Illyricum, pursuing their conquests till stopped by Constantine the Great. Strengthened by their countrymen, they finally overran Thrace, and settled in it. Under Alaric, they desolated Greece in A.D. 396. In the reign of Justinian, the Huns, or Bulgarians, or Volgarians, a Turanian race, in A.D. 520, extirpated the inhabitants, and wasted the dwellings of Greece, crossing the Hellespont in two gangs, and penetrating to Corinth by Thermopylae.

Theirs were, however, not wars of conquest, but of extermination ; they slew all who were useless as slaves, of whom on one occasion they carried off 120,000. Their cruelties created a panic. They impaled and flayed alive their captives, without distinction of age or sex ; suspended them between posts, and beat them to death with clubs ; or enclosed and burnt them alive in large buildings, with such spoil and cattle as they were unable to carry off—a precedent for their descendants, the modern Bulgarians. The Greek area was not desolated once, but repeatedly, by such exterminators. From that catastrophe Greece has never been able to recover ; nor have its few periodical flashes during the supremacy of the Byzantine Empire, by which it was absorbed, been such as to justify its former reputation.

Divided into two provinces, Achaia and the Peloponnese, it was frequently ravaged by the Goths, the Bulgars, and the Byzantines themselves, and it was dragged with the latter into the most abject decadence. Upon this state of things came the Crusaders, who split it up, according to the feudal system, into small fiefs, which they ruled with the severity of the then semi-barbarous West. The cup of its bitterness was full.

#### FATE OF THE GREEKS.

The Byzantine Empire, already shaken to its foundation by the barbaric inroads of the Goths and Bulgars, and its own vicious internal administration, now fell a prey to the Othoman Turks. The sentiment of nationality was extinguished, and nothing remained but religious fanaticism to separate the vanquishers and the vanquished. Assimilated to the other Christians of the Empire, they applied themselves to trade and navigation, and settled down as tranquil subjects of their new rulers, with religious hatred for an insuperable barrier to their amalgamation. The desolation of the classic Greece by the marauding hordes of the north, destroyed the small remnant of the Grecicized Pelasgians in the Peloponnese, Attica and those islands

they had won from the original Pelasgi. Cultivation in the Morea was destroyed, and it became a desert. The landed proprietors, who lived in the country, were either murdered or carried off as slaves by the raiders, or fled for refuge to the fortified towns. Such of their slaves as escaped to the fortresses returned on the retirement of the invader, and succeeded to the vacant possession of their masters. These are the progenitors of the present so-called Greeks, whose servile origin history places beyond a doubt, while those Albanians who have emigrated at a later period are the descendants of the free Pelasgi.

Under the Byzantine Government the country obtained comparative rest, and another race descended from the hills to occupy the vacant possession, not as an agricultural, but as a pastoral people. These were the descendants of the pure unmixed Pelasgi, who, when previously established in their former seats, on more than one occasion, caused the Byzantine Government considerable trouble by their rebellious conduct and assumption of independence. The Imperial author, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, writing A.D. 783, says, “*πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς τε καὶ ἡ πελοπόννησος ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων σαγήνην ἐγένετο ὥδε δούλους ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρων γινέσθαι Ἐλωβήθη δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα καὶ γεγόνε βαρβαρος ὅτε ὁ λοιμικὸς θανατὸς πᾶσαν ἐβόσκετο τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὁ τήνικα Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τῆς κόπριας ἐπώνομον, τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.*” Thus it appears that under the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the whole of Greece and the Peloponnese was drawn into the Roman net. They became slaves instead of freemen, and the whole country barbarian, as if a pestilence had battered on the universe. These barbarians, however, were formidable enough to compel Irene to send an army to check their aspirations for independence. In A.D. 807 they made another attempt. Under Theodora, widow of Michael III., they were reduced to obedience. In the interval, however, Constantine Porphyrogenitus records that the people of Mount Taygetus, and of the Valley of the Eurotas, had exterminated the last

remnants of the Spartan, Laconian, and Helot races, and assumed complete independence, though forced to pay a nominal tribute. In 920-944 they were subdued by the Byzantine troops, their cattle carried off, their children enslaved and themselves subjected to a substantial tribute. This was afterwards reduced, and they were allowed to choose their own chiefs.

The Franks describe them as *ἀνθρώπους ἀλαζονικούς καὶ οὐ σέβοντας αὐθέρτην*, which means that they had no general sovereign, but that each tribe obeyed its own chief, a system inseparable from tribal polity, and identic with that existing among the Albanians of the present time. But when attacked by a common enemy, they confederated and chose a Captain-General, without, however, in any respect resigning, even temporarily, the civil government of their own tribe or clan. So it was in Britain with Cassivelaunus, and in Caledonia with Galgacus. So with the chiefs federated, against Troy, under Agamemnon—the Achaian League—the mountain tribes of Afghanistan—and the recent Albanian League.

At the period last referred to, the ninth century, the Slavonic race had not yet penetrated into the Pelasgic area. The word I-liri signifies in Albanian "the Freemen;" who, when pressed, retired from the Herzegovina, Bosnia, and the country still bearing the designation of Illyria, to the mountainous country about Scodra; and when the epitomizer of Strabo speaks of the Sclavonians as forming the entire population of Macedonia, the Epeiros, continental Greece and the Peloponnese, he clearly uses that term abusively, for the descendants of the Pelasgian race, which ever since has continuously occupied, and still does occupy, those districts. They never were Sclavonian, and have ever remained Pelasgic.

Under the Latins and their successors, the Dukes of Athens and the Morea, their internecine quarrels had no effect on the mass of the population. They fought among themselves and with the Byzantine Government.

Governments and their forms change, but the effect is not radical on the nation.

#### THE PELASGIC AREA UNDER THE OTHOMANS.

The next phase of political existence in these countries was their subjection by the Othoman Turks, under whose government they remained from 1460 to 1827, a period of 367 years. These new conquerors left the people to govern themselves, according to their own custom, intervening as little as possible, and then only when asked. The municipalities collected their own taxes, the headmen being responsible to the Othoman Governor, The yoke was easy, and the burden light; for the Othomans too well knew the characteristics of these people, to excite needless bitterness, by interference with their manners and customs. Religious faith alone separated them, and the gulf was wide enough. Had the Moréots had no priests to foment the *odium theologicum*, the curse of all nations and countries, there would have been no discontent. It cannot thus be denied that the Pelasgic race have continued to inhabit the same area, which they have never quitted since their first settlement. They are the only Levantine people who have maintained the distinction of race and language, against the more recent distinction of creed, for they are Albanians firstly, and secondly Western or Eastern Catholics, or Muhammadans. Physiologically considered, they differ from the surrounding races in the formation of the cranium. The occipital region is flat,—colloquially they have no backs to their heads. The cheekbones are high and prominent. Their feet are small, well formed and arched; and they are cleanlimbed—the characteristics of an Aryan or Indo-European race. The Albanian is plainly distinguished, even by his physical appearance, as he is ethnologically, from the Shemitic races.

Constantinople fell in May, 1453. Shortly after, the Pelasgic race—Epeirots, Macedonians and Illyrians—combined for the recovery of independence in a desperate

resistance to the Othoman yoke. Castriotes, called Iskander Beg by the Turkish historians, after having been a hostage of the Sultan, succeeded in recovering Croya; and his entire ancestral domain, of which the Othomans had taken possession. In the name, and with the aid of his fellow-countrymen, he offered a stubborn resistance to Murad II. and his son Muhammad II., two of the greatest Sultans who had occupied the Othoman throne. With the aid of the Albanian League, this extraordinary man vanquished the Othoman troops in 22 battles.

While Lek Chief of Dukaguin, Arianites Lord of Canna and Vullona, Bosdares Chief of Arta and Yanina, Moses Chief of Debree, the Thopias, the Stresias, the Koukas, the Shpatas, the Uranas, the Angeli, and other chiefs and lords of the Albanian tribes had placed themselves under the command of Iskander Beg, the people of Greece remained unconcerned, and made no effort to succour the national movement of Albania. This proves that the Greeks, now for the third time, did not consider themselves of the same race as the Albanians, or as true descendants of the Pelasgians.

On the death of Iskander Beg, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the Othoman Turks overran the whole of Albania, and subjugated it, as they before did the Greek area. Still the Albanians preserved their old characteristics and warlike spirit. A portion emigrated to Italy. Some became Mussulmans, while others remained attached to their former Eastern and Western Christian creeds. Without sufficient land capable of agriculture and without taste for commerce, they took refuge in their barren hills, as a class of warriors; and although differing in creed they remained united as descendants of the same race, and took up arms indifferently for their new masters. For the wise policy of the Othoman Government had left them many privileges, which enabled them to retain their solidarity. They accepted the new state of things. The Albanian Pashas were still surrounded by their former tribal chiefs,

without reference to the distinction of creed, while all others not of that race held themselves aloof, and no longer belonged to the warrior caste.

In the beginning of the present century, Mustafa Pasha of Scutari, and 'Ali Tepelin Pasha of Yanina, dominated Upper and Lower Albania, and acquired so great importance as to cause concern to the Porte. But their rivalry and tyranny led to their ruin, and the people abandoned them to the chastisement inflicted on them by the Sultan. It was, however, the Klephts of the orthodox rite in Lower Albania who furnished Greece with her liberators. Botzaris, Haraiskaki, Tschavella, Miaulis, Bulgaris, and others were the first who espoused the cause of Greece, animated by a warlike spirit, a love of contention, aided by that sentiment of religion which they shared with the inhabitants of the present Greek area. It was not a patriotic, but a religious war. But their success led them to abjure their Albanian nationality, and to declare themselves, that which they were not by race, Greeks. Notwithstanding this, they still remained, as it were, a family apart, preserving, for the most part, their language. They are Albanians, who are Greek subjects, but not of Greek race, to which they belong just as little as those Albanians of Italy, who have adopted a Roman tongue, without, however, claiming to be of Roman descent.

The Byzantine Empire, though in point of fact Roman, acquired the designation of Greek in view of its faith, and as a distinction from the Latin rite, after the schism of Photius. Still the Emperors of Byzantium retained the Exarchate of Ravenna as Roman Emperors. So true is this, that the Arabs designate the Turks as "Roman," being the successors of the Roman Emperors, while the Europeans designate as Turks all who profess the religion of Islam, without distinction of race, and the Turks call all foreigners Franks. Religious creed has overridden race, and dogma usurped its place, without, however, in any respect derogating from the fact.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND NOTES, &c.

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### DISEASES ASCRIBED TO MICROBES AMONG THE BATAKS.

WE have much pleasure in inserting the following letter and note of Dr. G. J. Grashuis, on the Batak bark-manuscripts, of which one specimen was reproduced in facsimile in our last issue. The opinion of so eminent an authority as Dr. Grashuis will justly carry great weight. In connection with this subject, we wish to point to Pundit Janardhana's article in the present issue, and to draw attention to the remarkable fact of the identity of the Batak drawing with a representation—in that article—of microbes, according to ancient Hindu medical works. The remarks of Dr. Grashuis do not, really, clash with any conclusions that may be drawn from this curious correspondence of ancient Hindu and Batak theories and drawings. It is not improbable that the degenerate Bataks had, and have merely a vague tradition of the science that their remote ancestors brought or derived from India. There would however be nothing incongruous in the circumstance of a text, apparently treating of sorcery, being embellished—or rendered more gruesome—by a microbe drawing. Medicine and sorcery have a strange affinity for each other, and are, almost invariably found united among primitive people; indeed, if we are to judge from the accounts of Charcot's "Hypnotic" experiments at the Salpêtrière, and are not deluded by high-sounding scientific words and terms, it seems very probable that even among "civilized" nations, and in modern times the "medicine-man," with his knowledge of "sorcery," juggling, and, of course, drugs, will again be clothed in robes of honour, differing only in style and pattern from his ancient garb of feathers.

DEAR SIR,—You will not wonder at what I write now, in a positive sense, if you remember what I have written (Dec. 31st, 1891,) in a negative sense, concerning Mr. *Clainé's* opinion relating to the Batak manuscript, he brought home from *Sumatra*. The texts on the photogram you sent me, do not speak of "living germs as the cause of disease," for the *agenda* at the left end of the illustrated page, are nothing but a non-sensical series of magic words, and at the right end, you find the title of the book or the chapter that follows. The text is in Toba-Batak, running thus :

Poda ni hita-pasu hata pagar pan | dijam asu sapot raphon pagar na torop | dohot tunggal panaluwan dohot gana-gana g | opgop dohot tambar na torop.

Instruction on (the manner) we acquire the blessing of the words of the *pagar* for cal | ming the ominous dog, together with the general *pagar* | and the rain-making staff, and the absconding i | mage, and the general medicine.



Both the illustrated page and the manuscript you have forwarded to me,—and that I return to you this day,—treat on the *pagar*, to wit, the mighty *phylacterium* of the Batak people's belief. Properly speaking, the *pagar* is a tutelar genius, but the object or the preparation he resides in, bears also his name. Sometimes the *pagar* is *found*, sometimes he is *made*, and every *pagar* has a symbolical name. The title of the Batak manuscript runs thus :

Poda ni | parmasak ni pa | gar daro maisija Sadoli.

Instruction for | preparing the *pagar d.m.s.*

The book, that has lost the last part, contains now : (1) an Introduction, (2) the Instruction named in the title, and (3) seven Instructions for preparing different kinds of *pagars*; and there is nothing to be found in it about disease, or the cause of disease. The illustrations in the manuscript have nothing to do with the Text; they are specimens of Batak decorative art, and so are, too, the figures on the photogram.

As far as my knowledge reaches, there is nothing that can be alleged in favour of "the statement that the Bataks attribute some diseases to living germs."

Yours faithfully,

Leiden, Jan. 11th 1892.

G. J. GRASHUIS.

*Note on the Toba-Batak Codex Sibranus.*

By G. J. GRASHUIS, D.LL.,

Lector of the Sundanese language in the Leyden University, and teacher of the Batak language.

About the middle of the year 1890, an intrepid French explorer, Mr. *Jules Claine*, paid a visit to the table-land of *Sibraya*, in the northern part of *Sumatra*, inhabited by the independent *Karo-Bataks*. From *Sibraya* the residence of the *Sibrayak*, or principal chief in the table-land, Mr. *Claine* brought home a very curious book, containing, besides a few magic figures, two drawings of considerable length. They "*seem to show*," says Mr. *Claine*, "that the *Batak physicians, two centuries ago, had anticipated the modern theory of germs and bacilli.*" \* In the lapse of two months, the happy owner of the Batak manuscript, that I call *Codex Sibranus*, after the town where the book has been found, got the security that the *Karo-Bataks, have since many centuries the perception of the parasitical origin of the epidemic plagues.*" † As for the argument, brought forth in behalf of the astonishing assertion, given here in Mr. *Claine's* own terms, we hear nothing else than the following words: "*as is demonstrated by the illustrations contained in a manuscript, which I possess.*" The photogram of the

\* "The Illustrated London News," Sept. 12, 1891, p. 335.

† "Le Mode Illustré," No. 1806, Nov. 7, 1891: "Ils ont depuis plusieurs siècles la perception de l'origine parasitaire des maladies épidémiques."

two drawings, that has been sent to me, throws no light on the matter in question, because a great deal of the text is not legible. Only since the Codex itself has been put into my hands, I am able to tell in plain words what the drawings are, and what the accompanying text says.

In the *Codex Sibrajanus*, a handbook for the *datu*, that is to say, the Batak priest and physician, are given the drawings that are carved in the leaden bracelet and amulet, called *Sibaganding*, worn as a ring on the left arm. On the outer side is carved the *Naga Situldang boni*, placed in the book on the right hand beneath the star, and on the inner side the *Sibaganding*, accompanied by various small magic figures.

Mr. Claine has told us in the *Illustrated London News*, that he "was presented with an ancient book, containing an account of some plague," but, whilst I am willing to believe that he is an upright man, I must say that he has been deceived by his fancy, or by the fancy of another man. An account of some plague is not to be found in his Codex, that contains various instructions for the *datu*, belonging to what we call sorcery, a few precepts regarding diseases, prayers and incantations. The drawings are the *pièce de resistance* of the book, but there is no connection between them and the other parts of the text.

Leiden, Feb. 27th, 1892.

G. J. GRASHUIS.

## THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY AND THE PAMIRS.

*To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."*

SIR,—Will you allow me to point out a very wrong teaching of Geography which does not seem to have been detected at the last *Pamir* Evenings of the Royal Geographical Society?

General Strachey took occasion to pass a sentence of unmitigated severity on the Bam-i-Dunia as a region of as little use to mankind as "a square mile of the moon or of Sirius." He observed that "the whole characteristics" of the Pamirs are quite similar to those of the parts of Tibet which he had himself seen, and to the "regions of Tibet farther eastwards which other travellers have gone through."

I would simply record herein my difference of opinion on this point. The Pamirs between the Trans-Alai Mountains down to the Hindu-Kush are all "*Steppes*," and it is very necessary to draw a distinction between them and the more elevated plateaux of Little Tibet, the Taghdum Bash included. I would ask General Strachey whether he considers the Kok-Yar district (Kokin-Bal Valley), the Sari-Kol Pamir, the Yashil-Kul basin, the Victoria Lake, and the lake region of the sources of the Aksu, as "in reality huge reservoirs of Epsom salts or Glauber salts"?

Mr. Littledale's paper, his own and Mrs. Littledale's experiences, did not convey the impression of barren and bleak desolation, which General Strachey laboured to give. The elevation of the Pamirs averages, say 10,000 feet; there is not a pass from one Pamir to another which is

impracticable. Those on the way from the Kizyl-Art to the Baroghil are all easy, and on every one of them the native Kirghiz pasture their flocks. The Baroghil district itself is the Northumberland of this region. I wonder whether the meeting was really impressed with the sterility of the country from the fact which was pointed out by General Strachey, that Mr. and Mrs. Littledale "had to carry their food with them"?

Did the meeting, when this was pointed out, bear in mind that Mr. and Mrs. Littledale travelled with flocks of sheep? Did the meeting, I wonder, detect the error of the statement to the effect that the party lost numbers of horses through want of food, "dwindling as they perished"?

All that General Strachey said was at perfect variance with all that has been written by Russians. The Pamirs, according to all accounts, are not altogether undesirable parts of the world. There is a permanent population of over 3,000 Kirghiz, rapidly increasing; and in no very long time, I take it, General Strachey will alter his opinion in the face of facts, and he will be forced to admit either that he was not conversant with the Russian descriptions of the Bam-i-Dunia, or that he did not admit their accuracy.

It was a great pity that Captain Younghusband, instead of recounting his experiences of last year and letting the Society know what the Pamirs were like as he saw them in 1891, entertained the Society with a visit to the more rugged parts of the Himalayan and Tibetan uplands, including a short run up to the Taghdum Bash—regions which are both beyond the scope of the part of the world, which, doubtless, many of the audience had expected to hear him dilate upon.

I would conclude these few hasty lines with the expression of a desire that the Royal Geographical Society would do all that lies in its power to teach that Geography which is so important a feature in elementary education.

If the Government will persist in remaining dark, and in pigeon-holing the most ordinary accounts of travel until they are of no public value, why, then, should not the Society still fulfil its mission by publishing the accounts diligently supplied by Russian travellers? And how is it that I, for instance, should appear to possess so much more information concerning the Pamirs than either General Strachey or Sir M. S. D. Grant-Duff has displayed?

Yours truly,

ROBERT MICHELL.

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### RUSSIAN CARTOGRAPHY.

*To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."*

SIR,—While studying certain phases of Central Asian exploration recently, I had occasion to examine with some care the old Russian map attached to Mr. R. Michell's article on "Russian Contributions to Central Asian

Cartography and Geography," in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1891; and, in so doing, I have noticed an interesting fact, which is, I think, worth recording.

The author of "Warm Corners in Egypt" tells a story of his stay among the Arabs, when, to amuse his hosts, he showed them an illustrated work on horses; exhibiting, amongst others, a fine engraving of the celebrated "Godolphin Arab." One of the Sheiks, taking this picture, and holding it upside down, pronounced gravely: "Yes! this is a house; a very fine house!" and the others murmured courteous assent.

I am afraid Mr. Michell's Siberian Map has met with a similar mishap. For some reason or other, the transcriber has entered all the names in it *upside-down*, and the English and French endorsements, also upside-down, apparently indicate that this fact has remained unnoticed. I can hardly imagine, however, that Mr. Michell had not observed this, for North, South, East, and West are correctly noted on the map itself, in three languages, Russian, Swedish, and French, and the compass circle in the centre is also perfectly correct.

Turning the map the right way up, it becomes apparent that it is by no means deserving of the strictures which Mr. Michell passed on it. Beginning from the north-west ("Ziewer Sapad" on the map), we find correctly marked: Lapland, the White Sea, the N. Dwina, Archangelsk, the Petchora; then, south of these, Perm, the Kama and the Volga, with Astrakhan, and the Ural River; to the east, the chain of the Ural mountains is depicted with wonderful accuracy, curving away to the north-east. Then comes the Obi, with its tributaries the Tavda, the Tura, with the town of Irbit, the Tobol, and the Irtysh; to the east of these, the Yenesei, with its tributaries, the Lower, Middle, and Upper Tunguz Rivers; the latter shown, perfectly correctly, as flowing from Lake Baikal; further to the east, the Olenek and the Lena are marked; and, with the Lena, the map ends, towards the east; its boundary being somewhere about 146° East Longitude. This line intersects the Amur River, which is also correctly marked; and to the south of the Amur are the Khingan-Ola Mountains, and the Great Wall of China.

Besides these geographical details, the following races are marked: Lapps, Samoyeds, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, Kalmyks, Bokharans, Cherkess, and Chinese; all, except the Kalmyks, almost where they are at the present day.

It is evident, therefore, that this map shows the forwardness and not the backwardness of Russian Cartography, in the days of Tsar Boris Godunoff.

Is it quite logical to say that the fact that two *English* travellers in Central Asia had bad maps, shows the backwardness of *Russian* Cartography?

Mr. Michell further makes Alexander Nevski and Yaroslav undertake a pilgrimage to Tartary, in the *eighteenth* century, whereas Alexander Nevski died in 1263. Of course this should be *thirteenth* century, but, apparently, Mr. Michell has not yet made the correction.

There are other points in this paper, which one might take exception to,—for example, the passage where Mr. Michell blames the meagreness in result to Russian Cartography in the North, "of the best organized expedi-

tions of the period," the period in question being before and shortly after the Norman Conquest, when the Cartography even of other nations, more advanced than Russia, was also rather meagre ;—but I will not further trespass on your space.

Yours faithfully,  
CHARLES JOHNSTON,  
*Bengal Civil Service.*

*To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."*

SIR,—You have obligingly shown me a letter from Mr. Johnston bearing on the introductory part of my paper on "Russian Cartography," on the strength of which I must beg you to allow me to correct the error of the centuries. It occurs at p. 257 in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1891, where eighteenth is obviously a misprint and should be *thirteenth*. The fault may be mine. Also Baikof not Baikof, and on the same page, 253, after "1567" instead of "adding," it should stand: "Mr. de Semenof observing," etc.; and finally, "by" not "to the Great Emperor to subdue distant nations."

From a close reading of my text it will be observed that "the best organized expedition of the period" did not refer to the marauding adventures to which I proceeded parenthetically to allude, "demonstrations" which, as I said, "did not extend beyond a two weeks' march from the Petchora to the 'Kamena,'" and which could not, therefore, have been fruitful of any scientific results. I may, however, have been too obscure, hence Mr. Johnston's misapprehension. The continuation of my Cartography will explain this.

In referring to those expeditions, not including them under "best organized," I was more particularly addressing myself to a passage in Professor Vambéry's paper, January, 1891, p. 14, ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, where, preceding his Finn-Ugrian descent from the *Rus* (!), he somewhat magnifies the importance of those expeditions in order to build the argument that they "could not lead to important or political and social changes." One of those expeditions, as I pointed out, was mythical, whilst of the others even the Russian historian Karamzi made light.

The map which has aroused Mr. Johnston's curiosity is not ascribable to Boriis Godunof the Tsar, but to a Boyar Godunof. To comprehend the map Mr. Johnston has done quite right in studying it upside down; but if he will turn it over again, setting the *houses* on their legs, he will discover his "mare's nest"—I hope he will pardon the joke suggested by his anecdote—and find that it is merely a *facsimile* reproduced from a Russian publication, and that it is stamped with the period of Alexis Mikhailovitch, 1667.

Yours truly,  
ROBERT MICHELL.

THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS OF STOCKHOLM-  
CHRISTIANIA.

(Held in 1889.)

*Preface du CTE. DE LANDBERG en tête du premier fascicule de la section I. : Sémitique (A.), des " Actes du huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania." (Leide : E. J. Brill, 1891.)*

La lenteur avec laquelle procède la publication des Actes du Congrès ne provient ni de ma part ni de la part des imprimeurs. Les auteurs eux-mêmes en ont toute la faute. D'abord, tous ceux qui ont fait des communications ne les ont pas remises au Secrétariat, et puis on met souvent un temps infini à réviser les épreuves. Quelques auteurs corrigent tellement ou ont écrit le manuscrit avec tant de négligence, qu'il a fallu presque recomposer le mémoire. Par là, non seulement on perd un temps précieux, mais les frais d'impression sont considérablement augmentés. Pour que tout marche bien et régulièrement, j'ai prié M. le Dr. Herzsohn, orientaliste aussi savant que modeste, qui depuis quelques années surveille les publications orientales de la maison E. J. Brill, de s'occuper d'une façon toute particulière de l'impression des Actes. M. Herzsohn a eu la bonté d'acquiescer à ma demande. Mes devoirs de fonctionnaire du gouvernement dans un pays éloigné me rendant la tâche de secrétaire assez difficile, je n'aurais pu trouver un collaborateur plus intelligent, plus savant. Je tiens à remercier ici publiquement M. Herzsohn de la peine qu'il se donne pour mener à bonne fin une entreprise qui se heurte à chaque moment contre la lenteur des auteurs ou leur insouciance. Je déclare rejeter toute la responsabilité de ce retard dans la publication des Actes sur les auteurs des mémoires à imprimer. Les Secrétaires des Sections n'ayant pas remis de procès-verbaux des discussions, cette partie des Actes sera forcément défectueuse. Ma santé est depuis les journées mémorables de Stockholm et de Christiania tellement ébranlée que je ne puis la sacrifier encore davantage en établissant une correspondance fort étendue à l'effet de reconstituer ces procès-verbaux.

Quant aux attaques auxquelles j'ai été exposé de la part de quelques personnes malveillantes, qui ont eu intérêt à amener un schisme dans notre camp, je les ai complètement ignorées. Je suis heureux d'avoir eu l'occasion de montrer aux orientalistes ce que peut être que l'hospitalité scandinave lorsqu'on se trouve en présence de cœurs-amis. Quant à nos Congrès ils n'ont jamais été et ne seront jamais qu'un rendez-vous de savants désireux de se serrer la main.

CTE. DE LANDBERG,

*Secrétaire-général du VIIIe. Congrès international des Orientalistes*

*Château de Tutzing, Haute-Bavière..*

*Septembre, 1891.*

Members of the above-named Congress who may have expected that the alleged expenditure of 50,000*l.* in connection with that gathering of evil memory, should at least have resulted in the publication of *some* of the Congress transactions, are hardly likely to be consoled, for long and patient waiting, by this prologue of Cte. de Landberg to the *first* publication of that Congress, which has now appeared.—“Unus ex multis.”

## NOTES.

THE CENSUS RETURNS OF INDIA, 1891.—The population of the whole of India ascertained by regular census is 287,207,046, or, adding 952,626 registered by houses or tribes, the grand total is 288,159,672.

Of these British India contains, censused, 221,094,277; registered, 261,910; total, 221,356,187.

Native States, censused, 66,112,769; registered, 690,716; total, 66,803,485.

The registered tracts are the Upper Burmah frontiers and British Beloochistan under British rule, and Sikkim Shan States, and the Bhil tracts of Rajputana under Native States.

In the Provinces and States enumerated both in 1881 and 1891, the net increase is 27,991,000, while the gross increase, including territory only censused last year, is 33,555,784.

The returns according to Religions are:—Hindoos, 207,654,407; Mussulmans, 57,365,204; Buddhists, 7,101,057; Christians, 2,284,191; Sikhs, 1,907,836; Jains, 1,416,109; Parsees, 89,887; Jews, 17,180. Forest tribes (animal worshippers), 9,302,083; Atheists, Agnostics, etc., 289; Religions not returned, 68,803. Among the Hindoos are included 3,401 Brahmos and 39,948 Aryas. The Brahmos are chiefly in Bengal, the Aryas in the North-West and the Punjab. The latter return themselves as Vedic or Aryans by religion, sometimes as Hindoo Aryans, while even a few Sikhs describe their sect as Aryan.

THE IMPERIAL DIAMOND.—The following is the authentic history of the Imperial Diamond, which has acquired considerable celebrity from the recent litigation in India between the Nizam of Hyderabad and Mr. Jacob, and the ownership of which has still to be decided by the Civil Courts at Calcutta. The Imperial diamond, the property of a powerful and wealthy syndicate, was intrusted for sale to the well-known firm of diamond merchants, Messrs. Pittar, Leveson, and Co., of London and Paris. Officially this stone is described as "the largest and most beautiful among celebrated and historical diamonds." This is borne out by comparison with the *Koh-i-Noor* among the English Crown jewels, and the *Regent* among those of France, certainly the two most celebrated and best-known cut diamonds in the world. The *Koh-i-Noor*, in its present state, weighs 106 carats; the *Regent*, (the French name for the Pitt diamond brought back from Madras at the beginning of last century by the grandfather of the great Earl of Chatham), 136 carats; while the Imperial diamond weighs as much as 180 carats. In its rough state, the Imperial diamond weighed 457 carats. From this block, a portion of 45 carats was detached, and cut into a brilliant of 20 carats, which was sold long ago. The remaining block of 412 carats was sent to Amsterdam about ten years ago, where, under the personal direction of three of the first lapidaries of the town, it was cut down to its present size of 180 carats. The Queen of Holland, now Queen-Regent, saw the first facet cut. The whole process of cutting occupied eighteen months. The circumstance which gave to the stone the name of Imperial was that when it was being shown by request to the Queen; the Prince of Wales, who happened to be present, on seeing it, exclaimed, "It is an Imperial diamond!" and so the owners of the stone at once called it by that title, by which, no doubt, it will always be known. The Imperial diamond was prominently exhibited at the Paris Exhibition, with special measures for its safe custody; for the table on which it was placed, was lowered into the ground at night, and protected by an iron door.

A REMARKABLE DIARY.—A Japanese journal describes a curious diary kept in the family of a well-to-do farmer in the province of Koshin, in the centre of the main island. It has been kept regularly for more than 300 years. It was begun by one of his ancestors at the time of the downfall of the Takeda family, who had been the lords of the province from the time of the great Japanese ruler, Yoritomo. The affairs of the house have been going on for the last three centuries without any notable change. While

none of the successive heads of the family showed particular mental brilliancy or great enterprise, they all possessed average abilities and were equally assiduous in noting day by day in their family record even the state of the weather and other observations. The diary has naturally become voluminous ; seven or eight oblong boxes, two feet wide by five long, and two-and-a-half in height, principally used in Japan houses for storing bedding, are said to be filled with them. Recently a dispute is said to have arisen between two families in that neighbourhood, each claiming to be the original family or stock, and therefore entitled to precedence over the other, which was said to be only a branch family. These disputes, which are by no means infrequent in Japan, can only occur after a lapse of several generations, from the time when a member of a family separates himself from his household and founds a branch of his own ; and in the meantime the family lineage becomes so involved by intermarriages, adoption, and other intricacies, that it is often very difficult to unravel. In this instance, as the parties concerned could come to no satisfactory understanding, they had, as a last resort, to apply to Mr. Hozaka, the present head of the family with the diary. It resulted in the discovery in one of the early volumes of the diary, of an entry made by one of Mr. Hozaka's ancestors, of a dinner he attended, given by an ancestor of one of the parties to the dispute, on the occasion of the latter's founding a branch family ; and as the entry was so detailed as to include even a minute account of the different dishes served on the occasion, it left no room for further wrangling, and the parties were quite satisfied. The diary, dating as it does from the times of Nobunaga, through those of Hideyoshi, Jyeyasu, and the fourteen succeeding Tokugawa Shoguns, and also through the twenty-four years of the present era, is a wonderful work.

In answer to a question in the House of Commons, it was stated that the Uncovenanted and Covenanted Services of India were composed as follows :—

				Europeans.	Eurasians.	Natives.
Rs. 50,000 a year and over	...	...	...	26	0	1
„ 40,000 to 50,000	...	...	...	47	0	3
„ 30,000 „ 40,000	...	...	...	125	0	0
„ 20,000 „ 30,000	...	...	...	346	3	2
„ 10,000 „ 20,000	...	...	...	951	12	40
„ 5,000 „ 10,000	...	...	...	2,078	111	446
„ 2,500 „ 5,000	...	...	...	1,334	545	1,647
„ 1,000 „ 2,500	...	...	...	2,097	1,963	6,915
Totals	...	...	...	7,004	2,634	9,054

It is a very strange thing that on the 19th February, 1892, the latest statistics regarding the Indian Covenanted and Uncovenanted Civil Service should be dated the 31st March, 1886, that is to say, all but SIX YEARS OLD ; and even a more strange thing, that this venerable piece of ancient history should have been received unquestioned, and accepted as satisfactory. The object seems to have been the obtrusion of personality rather than the obtaining of information.

Replying to a very natural question by Dr. Clark, Member for Caithness, regarding an item of 3000*l.*, put down to India in the estimates for the Diplomatic and Consular Service, Mr. Lowther gave a very strange explanation, which we commend to general attention. He said : “ Hitherto the Government of India has been paying 10,000*l.* a year towards the expenses of the Mission to Persia, but lately (*better late, evidently, than never,*) they had represented to Her Majesty's Government that the Indian Government were paying the (*total*) cost of the Agencies at Bushir and Meshed, which amounted to 6,000*l.* a year, and they considered (*after how many years' consideration was not specified*) that the resources of India should not be taxed to a greater extent than 7,000*l.* instead of 10,000*l.* a year (*India being very thankful for even such small mercies as having to pay only two-thirds of what in justice should be wholly an Imperial charge*). Seeing that India paid, for Agencies, etc., in Persia, as much as 23,000*l.* a year, it was (*most generously !*) thought that it would be only fair (*sic !*) to place these 3000*l.* on the Imperial estimate.”

With supremely unconscious irony, the *Times*, which reports the above, adds : “ The vote was then agreed to.” Of course it was !



## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA has not been behind any colony or dependency of the Empire in the fulness of its sympathy with the Royal Family, on the death of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Avondale. Muhammadans and Hindus have equally shared in this grief, and the native press has been fully as loyal in its sentiments as the European; nor has a single discordant note marred the sad harmony. Among many, we note a characteristic expression of Hindu sympathy by Mr. Chunnilal Punnalal of Bombay, who accompanied his message of condolence to the Governor with a cheque for Rs. 1,000, for the famine-stricken district of Beejapur. The dark shadow of famine indeed lies over the whole land; for the failure of rain has been all but general, and the crops, where not destroyed, are much below the average. Should the next monsoon fail, a famine will ensue such as has not been since the terrible 1833. Much-needed showers have fallen in January in N. N.W., W., and Central India; in February in Bengal; and in March in S. India, the Neilgerries, and along the Malabar coast. Meanwhile, though there is scarcity there still is food, the officials are everywhere commendably alive to their responsibilities, and the improved communications enable supplies to be despatched to the hardest stricken districts. The fall of Exchange, never so low as now, helps to deepen the gloom.

Sir D. Barbour made his annual financial statement on the 18th March. The accounts for 1890-91, closed with a surplus, larger than anticipated, of Rs. 3,688,171, owing principally to the state of exchange. The accounts for 1891-92, though showing a small deficit of Rs. 80,000, will probably balance by the close of the financial year. The railway traffic and general revenue have increased, but a fall in exchange, and the land revenue, and military

expeditions on the frontier, especially Manipur, has swallowed the anticipated surplus of Rs. 115,000. For the coming year 1892-93, with exchange at 1s. 5½*d.* revenue is estimated at Rs. 18,368,000, expenditure at Rs. 88,221,000, leaving a surplus of Rs. 147,000 : practically an equilibrium. Improvement is anticipated in contributions from the provincial Governments, in general and railway revenue, and in interest charges, as this is the third year that India borrows nothing. The opium revenue is calculated at Rs. 5,399,800. Council bills at 17,000,000*l.*, and a loan may be needed in England by the Secretary of State, of 1,800,000*l.* for certain railway debentures and advances. The statement, under the circumstances of scarcity and bad exchange, is eminently satisfactory, as almost any change must be for the better, and must result in a surplus. Sir David holds that active measures must be taken in the matter of the currency, to prevent losses by exchange.

Notwithstanding the bad season, the wheat export of India for 1891 was 1,397,466 tons; only half of which came to the United Kingdom, as Indian wheat exports to the Continent have rapidly increased.

The Legislative Council has no measure in hand of more than local importance; but two Indian Bills are passing (or rather stagnating) through Parliament. One is the twice resurrected India Councils Bill, only partially meeting an acknowledged want : a statesmanly measure, combining prudent concessions with a wide elasticity to meet future requirements, it is not. The second Bill, for enabling the Governor-General and other high officials to come home, on call or leave, does not commend itself to us, nor in fact to any who know India. It lowers those high officials in Indian eyes, can do no possible good, and may do much evil. In military circles it is openly called a job to aid the further retention of office by one whose term is up, and who, though an excellent man, should make way for others to show what is in them. An important Indian debate was raised when Mr. MacNeil moved what was

practically a vote of censure on Indian officials regarding the famine. Mr. Curzon easily routed him with a shower of figures and details, then Sir R. Temple slew him in a brilliant charge, while Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth, an ex-Under-Secretary, buried him under a plain approval of the action of Government. In reply to last year's opium resolution, the Indian Government has sent an exhaustive report :—The opium traffic is not increasing—it is well in hand—consumption on the premises is steadily being reduced—there are not 1,000 smoking-dens in all India, and only 22,000 shops for the 22,000,000 of British India, or 1 per 1,000—at which rate London should have only 500 public-houses. The total amount of opium used in India if divided by the total population, gives the weight of a sixpence among 400,000 persons. Instead of shrieking periodically against the comparatively innocent opium, we recommend Messrs. S. Smith, Pease, and Co., to begin a crusade against the distilling of spirits in Great Britain and Ireland. Another important Commission has reported on leprosy :—It finds that the number of Indian lepers is much exaggerated, and does not exceed 100,000—that leprosy is only in a very slight degree contagious or inoculable—that the risk from vaccination is inappreciable—and that it is proved not to be hereditary, or traceable to a fish or salt diet. It holds it is a specific disease, unconnected with any other, and while deprecating any drastic measures for its extermination, they recommend the forming of compulsory asylums for vagrant lepers. The Hyderabad Chloroform Commission (after long experimenting at the expense of H.H. the Nizam) has reported that its careful use is free from danger ; for as in the excessive use of this powerful drug the breathing invariably ceases before the action of the heart fails, it clearly gives timely notice to the specialists who alone should deal with it. The Deccan Land Indebtedness Commission is still collecting evidence : thus far it finds that rents are high, the ryots ignorant of their own interests, and the money-lenders generally in

fault. A Conference on the frontier tribes (the Nagas, Lushais, Shans, and Chins), has been held by the Viceroy, the Governor of Bengal, the Chief Commissioners of Assam and Burma, and the Commander-in-Chief, to readjust their division between Bengal, Assam, and Burma, with a redistribution of the troops: the decisions have not yet been published. A Lushai outbreak is reported as we go to press. Another Conference has been held at Calcutta, under the presidency of General G. C. Morton, on the important question of Volunteers: among the points raised are that *volunteering* should be *compulsory* (!!) on all Government employés, and should carry privileges in the way of exemption from certain taxes, etc. The Midland Railway Volunteers have prepared and manœuvred with an armoured train. A great camp of exercise for cavalry has been held at Aligarh, another for artillery at Muridki, and a third for all arms at Puna; all three were very successful. The Russian General Kadolitsch, after seeing the first, declared his admiration of the Native Cavalry and said that a successful invasion by Russia was an impossibility. But Britain has a better guarantee for the safety of India in her just and equitable rule than even in her splendid Indian army. An expedition against Hunza-Nagyr has ended in the capture, after a stout resistance, of the forts of Chalt, Nilt, and Miyan, the flight of Safdar Khan of Hunza, and Uzr Khan of Nagyr, and the submission of the whole district. Dr. Robertson has brought to Calcutta, on a personally conducted tour, some more or less voluntary visitors from those localities: 8 Hunzas, 7 Nagyrs, 11 Punialis, and 6 Kafirs: they naturally stared most at the great ships.

The Russian Prince Galitzin has visited India, as he says, expressly to prove that *bona fide* travellers are sure of a cordial welcome. Lieutenants Leontieff and Petrine have also come to India, from Tiflis, *via* Teheran, which they left on the 12th November, arriving on the Indian frontier at Somane on the 6th January. They took many

photographs on the way, visited the chief cities of India, and left from Bombay on the 21st February. M. Thomas, Governor-General of French India, visited Calcutta and was cordially received with due honours, on his way to Chandernagore. A similar reception was accorded at Bombay to General Francis Maria da Cunha, Governor-General of Goa, on his way to Portugal: he has resigned, as the local obstruction to his enlightened measures was upheld by the Lisbon Ministers. The salt and customs treaty with Goa having expired in January, owing to the Lisbon Government declining to renew it, the old status was resumed, and customs officers were placed along the frontiers; the result will be much friction, and a decided loss to Goa.

The "Indian National Congress" met at Nagpur on the 28th December, under the presidency of Mr. P. Ananda Churlu, of Madras. Resolutions were passed that India needed a Representative body, but details were left to be settled by the Government itself; that the responsibility for the chronic state of starvation in which 50,000,000 in India lived lay with the Government;—that the Government should conciliate public opinion by allowing (among other matters) all to bear arms and to become volunteers, by establishing Military Colleges for native gentlemen preparing for the army, and admitting more natives to the Civil Service;—that the salt tax be reduced, and the judicial and executive administration be separated.

Among general items, are the following:—The Imperial diamond case is stated to be now settled out of court. The Countess of Dufferin Fund annual meeting reported good progress: the funds were prosperous, the number of doctors and patients increasing, and there were 224 lady students. Maharaja Holkar, on the birth of a son and heir, remitted Rs. 70,000 to the Ryots, and distributed clothing to several hundred poor people, besides sending Rs. 6,250 for the famine relief fund, three-fourths for human beings and one-fourth for fodder for cattle. The Maharaja of Patiala has founded, in the Punjab University,

12 "Albert Victor Patiala" scholarships, in memory of H.R.H.'s late visit. Some rock-engraved edicts of Asoka are reported to have been discovered in Southern India, where none had yet been found. Sir Henry Ramsay, popularly known as the "King of Kumaon," has left for Europe after a 50 years' residence, 40 of which were spent in office. The Maharajah of Travancore will be weighed in April against gold, which will then be given to the poor. General Sir J. Dumer, the Madras Commander-in-Chief, is preparing a scheme for the reorganization of the Madras Army, on the class system. A long-felt want has been met by the preparation of a draft Penal Code by Nawab Mehdi Hassan, Home Secretary of the Nizam of Hyderabad; it is based on the Indian Penal Code, the Code Napoleon, and the Hanafi system of Muhammadan law. It is a thorough work, and gives a law equally suited to Muhammadans and Hindus. The recent Factory Law, injudiciously, not to say unjustly, thrust upon India, has resulted in the almost total exclusion of women and children under 14 years, employers preferring adult male labour to the vexatious interference of the law: much misery is the result. A small-pox epidemic has visited Bombay, and a much worse outbreak has occurred in Ajmere, where in one month there died over 1,000 adults and 3,000 children.

Among Railways now sanctioned are: Lucknow—Jaunpore, 25 *lakhs*; Burma Extensions, 30 *lakhs*; Godra-Rutlam, 30 *lakhs*; Gauhatty-Lumding, 30 *lakhs*; Bareilly-Moradabad, 60 *lakhs*; Assam-Bihar, 124 *lakhs*. A railway of 30 miles from Tarkeshwar to Mogra is being carried out entirely by natives—the first of its kind. In Katiawar (whence several cases of dacoity are reported) a line is projected from Rajkote, to Jamnagar and Dwarka. Government have ordered the survey of a line from Kala-ka-serai, *via* Abbottabad and the Jhelum Valley to Srinagar. A survey has also been ordered in the Suleymani range for petroleum; *apropos* of which the Assam Railway Co. have struck oil at a depth of 640 feet: the jet spouted

forty feet high, and yields 1000 gallons an hour, while there are indications of oil all about. The Gilgit telegraph survey was concluded before the snows came, and the line will be opened this summer. The gunboats *Plassy* and *Assaye* have left for India. A batch of Sepoys of the 17th N.I. caused a riot at Calcutta, but, after ill-treating the police, returned to duty on hearing the bugle-call to "fall in."

Among recent appointments we note the very Reverend Theodore Dalkoff, S.J., who, after serving 25 years in India, has been consecrated Archbishop of Bombay in succession to Dr. Porter, who died two and a half years ago;—of Sir Charles Crossthwaite, K.C.S.I., to the Governor-General's Council; of Sir Denis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I., to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab; of General Sir James Browne, R.E., K.C.S.I., Quartermaster-General in India, to be Governor-General's Agent in Beluchistan, with which he is thoroughly conversant.

As the blame for the skeleton state of our Line Battalions in England is generally laid on the need of keeping the Battalions in India up to full strength, we invite attention to the last New Year's Day Proclamation "Parade state" of the K. O. Y. L. I.'s, at Bombay:—Field Officers, 2; Captains, 1; Subalterns, 8; Staff, 1: total officers, 12; N. C. O. and rank and file, 324: grand total 358! and this at the season of the year most favourable to European health.

Madras is getting electric tramways, the constructors being Messrs. Hutchinson, of London. The British garrison at Gnatong, on the Sikkhim-Tibet frontier continues for another year. China and India have agreed on a depôt for trade at Yatung, near Rinchingong in Tibet. The Tibetan trade has risen from 3 to 7 *lakhs*, and that of Nepal to 12 *lakhs*. A pleasant sign of friendly confidence on the part of the Nepal durbar is given in the invitation to Lord Roberts to visit the country and inspect its troops—a hitherto unprecedented favour.

In *Afghanistan* the Amir is said to be preparing to attack Umr Khan of Jandol, who on his side is also arming

and strengthening himself with alliances. All else seems quiet. The returns for the five months ending 31st December give trade from India to Afghanistan at 45 *lakhs*,—an advance on the 39 *lakhs* of the preceding year, but not yet up to the figures for 1880: the trade from Afghanistan is only 2 *lakhs*. As the Amir does not recognize foreign postage-stamps, letters for Cabul have to be sent under cover to agents at Peshawar, who affix the Amir's stamps or otherwise see to their despatch.

BURMA continues to progress steadily. In the 5 years since its occupation, its revenue has increased from 258 to 385 *lakhs*, a rise of 127 *lakhs*, while the expenditure has increased only 33 *lakhs*; the surplus last year was 198 *lakhs*. If we take Upper Burma alone, for 1889-90 we have 103 *lakhs*, and exports 192 *lakhs*; and in 1890-91, 112 *lakhs*, with exports to 184 *lakhs*. The total trade has risen from 486 *lakhs* in 1866-67 to 2,246 *lakhs* in 1890-91. The increase over 1890 is 6.72 per cent. in imports, and 21.67 per cent. in exports. Large quantities of rice go to Europe, America, and Japan—the last took 65,388 tons. The trans-frontier trade, too, has increased from 81 to 111 *lakhs*. Upper Burma still has a deficit, though less by 16 *lakhs* than last year's; but taken with Lower Burma, there is a clear surplus. The census gives a population for Upper Burma of 3,000,000, for Lower Burma of 4,750,000, for the Shans 376,000;—Total 8,126,000 inhabitants.

The police have been reorganized. The military police already reduced by 3,000, will be further reduced by 3,000 more, leaving two battalions (one of Karens). Railways are being pushed on, partly as relief works; irrigation is being extended; and the Department of Public Works has shown its activity, among other things, by completing 542 miles of new roads, and 400 miles of telegraph, of which one has been taken from Bhamo to Nampoung, only 65 miles from the Chinese station of Momein. A Judicial Commissioner has been appointed, and the judicial system organized. Crime has decreased



by 12 per cent.; dacoity cases from 1,311 to 311. The system of public instruction, largely founded on indigenous monastic schools, is being extended to Upper Burma, which has 2,940 schools with 43,960 pupils. Several bands of dacoits have been dispersed, and their chiefs caught; one of whom, calling himself the Minlaung Prince, organized a revolt in Akyab jail, which was not quelled till 7 prisoners had been shot down: he, with 5 ringleaders, has been sentenced to death, and others to penal servitude for life.

During the quarter, several columns have opened out the country in various directions. One traversed the Chin Hills from Bhamo right up to Manipur and back again, without any fighting or opposition, and opened out some rough but practicable roads. The chief post established in the Chin Hills, is at Tallam in the Tashon country. Another marched from Haka to the Klang Klang country. A third, under Major Yule, went up the Irawaddy into the Kacheyn territory and occupied a post at Sadone. One part of Major Yule's column took Saga and captured the Tswabwa, then proceeding to the junction of the Knaika and Nakha rivers, established itself at Sagone, while Major Yule himself pushed on towards the Chinese frontier. Meanwhile, the post was attacked by large bodies of Kacheyns, (alleged to be urged on and led by Chinese), who blockaded the place and cut off a convoy escorted by ten Sepoys who were slain. The North-East column, under Captain Davies, came to the rescue; and Major Yule himself, returning from his expedition, joined in dispersing the Kacheyns, not without hard fighting on several points. Sadone is to be permanently occupied by 250 men, with two posts of communication above the third defile, at Myitkyina and Womlechong.

In SIAM on the 10th March the king cut the first sod of the Bangkok-Korat Railway, which is being constructed by an English firm. Prince Damrong, after visiting Europe, has spent much time in India, making himself thoroughly acquainted with the administration of the country, and in

Burma particularly with the educational system. On his return home, he intends to introduce many reforms, which cannot but result in great good for the country.

The STRAITS SETTLEMENTS have had a little rising of their own. Orang Kya, a native chief of Pahang, rebelled against the Sultan, but was defeated and obliged to fly to the jungles, but he retook Luboktua and beat the Sultan's troops. With the Pahang Resident at Singapore *en route* to England, the Perak Resident in England, and the Silangor Residency vacant, there is no one to direct operations: a good comment on the Indian Officers' Bill now in Parliament. The Singapore Press say the rebel had real grievances, and ask for a commission of inquiry. A Bill has been passed forbidding Sunday work on shipping.

In the DUTCH INDIES the Acheens maintain a desultory warfare, and reinforcements, both naval and military, have been sent; the former being volunteers from various nations, paid by the Government. Col. Deykerhoff has succeeded Col. Pompe as Governor-General.

Sir W. MacGregor, administrator of NEW GUINEA, reports that trade is steadily but slowly increasing, that natives are gradually being converted by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, and that the climate is in general unsuited for European colonization. The Germans are said to contemplate abandoning the colony they have there.

JAPAN.—Earthquake shocks still continue to be felt, though with diminishing violence. The damages done have been compensated from Government funds, old and new. The first Japanese House of Representatives has been dissolved by the Mikado, at the prayer of the Ministry, in consequence of the organized obstruction to business by the various parties which make up the Opposition. Their principal points were reductions all round in expenditure, and the revision of all treaties, which they wish to be made on the principle of the acknowledged equality of Japan and all foreign countries. The general elections thus held in February caused much excitement and led unfortunately to

rioting at Sagu, Tossa, Tokio, etc., and to much violent language on both sides. As many as 20 killed and 140 wounded are reported from various places. The elections are said to have given the Government party, before in a minority, a majority of 30. The two parties may be briefly noted as the Bureaucratic and the Real Parliamentary; the one wishing to govern after the present German, and the other on the actual English models. The Upper House, being elected for seven years, is not affected by the dissolution. Counts Okuma and Igataki are the chiefs of the Opposition. Japan has taken possession, without resistance, of the Volcano Isles, lying near the Carolinas.

From CHINA there is little of importance, though several missionaries have written more or less of their hardships during the late rising and abused the Chinese Government, perhaps unjustly. The rising has been subdued and its leaders captured and beheaded; damages incurred have been compensated with fines raised from the sinning localities; all Hunan soldiers have been disbanded and replaced by Cantonese; the owners and printers of the offensive placards have been imprisoned, and their blocks destroyed. What more? The Emperor is learning English! The past year has been an exceptionally good one for trade all round; and England still stands first. In 1890, three-quarters of all the China trade was in English hands. It amounted to £15,000,000 with the United Kingdom, including what passed through Hong Kong. There is an increasing demand for English goods; and at Shanghai the German trade figures are falling. Of the vessels cleared, 16,897 out of 20,530 bore the English flag—Germany, which is making great efforts in the China trade, coming next with 2,140 vessels. There are 327 British firms, with 3,300 British subjects, out of 8,000 foreigners all told. Germany has 80 firms and 140 residents; America 32 firms; and France 19 firms, with 590 residents.

There have been serious riots in *Persia* caused by popular opposition to the tobacco monopoly granted by the

Shah to a European Company. The Mullahs forbade smoking; and though the legality of the prohibition was not unquestioned, they roused so much feeling that the Shah revoked the monopoly, and offered compensation to the Company. Quiet again prevails.

At Tiflis a bridge gave way beneath an Armenian procession going to bless the river waters, and many were killed. As the bridge had been built by a priest-architect, the Armenians created a disturbance round the house of their Bishop, who was saved by the Muhammedans from further molestation. The rising in Yemen still continues. The Turkish forces are not strong enough to take the offensive, but more are to be sent.

CYPRUS is suffering from influenza and a severe drought. Sir Walter Sendall, K.C.M.G., Governor of Barbados, succeeds Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., as High Commissioner. A meeting of merchant shippers and ship-owners at Newcastle has put forward a proposal for a second Suez canal, to bring down by competition the present heavy dues, and to avoid the dangers of a stoppage from the carrying of petroleum in bulk through the present Canal. The trade of Aden showed a total fall of 291 *lakhs*, 31 of which were with Red Sea ports.

EGYPT has had to mourn the death of the Khedive Tewfik Pasha, who, if not a great ruler, had at least the good sense to know what was for his own and his country's good. His firm co-operation with the British occupation had produced the best of results. Fortunately the Sultan acted energetically in at once confirming Tewfik's son Abbas Hilmi Pasha, who is fully of age according to Muhammadan law. He was completing his education in Austria, when his father's death called him to the throne: he was installed with great pomp and military display. The situation in Egypt has undergone no change, as he is acting on the same lines as his late father. The Sultan is anxious that the young Khedive should visit Constantinople, as all his predecessors have done,

except his father. The Firman of investiture has been drawn up : it is worded like its predecessors, but Egypt is called a Province, not a Principality. A fee of 6000*l.* only, instead of the former 20 or 12,000*l.*, has been claimed by the Porte for the expenses of this mission, which however has not yet started.

The financial statement by Mr. E. Palmer shows progress. The total revenue was 10,900,000*l.*, an increase of 400,000*l.* on 1890 and of 900,000*l.* on 1889, both good years. The expenditure is 9,800,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 1,100,000*l.* Taxes were remitted to the amount of 800,000*l.*, of which 100,000*l.* were from a reduction of 40 per cent. on salt. The tax on tobacco has been raised : in 1887 it yielded 340,000*l.*, in 1891 850,000*l.* The Customs for 1891 gave 1,679,000*l.* ; on imports 667,000*l.*, on exports 125,000*l.*, on tobacco 850,000*l.*, and 37,000*l.* on other items. The total returned trade is put at 23,000,000*l.* There is a reserve of 2,900,000*l.* Of last year's surplus the Government will appropriate 300,000*l.* and 800,000*l.* go to the Caisse de la dette publique, which now holds nearly the 2,000,000*l.* that must accumulate before any sum can be utilized, owing to the refusal of France to allow its use even for reducing taxation. The improved condition of the fellahin is shown by the increasing imports, especially of cutlery and Manchester cottons. As an instance of progress, 11,000 bales of cotton were sent to America, against 4,000 in 1890.

M. Grébaut has left the directorship of the Department of Antiquities and is succeeded by M. de Morgan, said by one party to be a great Orientalist and by another to be simply and solely a mining engineer. This department has given much cause for just complaints, and in the interests of Egyptology we trust it will no longer be allowed to play the dog in the manger, and that its late political bias will be put down by the strong hand of the Government. The Council of Ministers has given 1,000*l.* to preserve a Nubian temple : the rock above the façade, which had

fissured, has been bound with chains and is being piecemeal removed by sappers from the army. Mr. Petrie and other explorers have made several interesting discoveries. In connection with the subject, we note that the annual meeting of the Egyptian Exploration Fund announces a prosperous financial state, the donations from America being particularly good. The work is said to be divided into surveying, exploring and publication. Last season, M. Naville explored the temple of the Egyptian Hercules (already surveyed the previous year); among the finds were six columns, 17 ft. high with palm capitals (one of which is in the British Museum) having the names of Rameses II. and his son Menephthah, a colossal statue and a bust of Rameses, a couchant lion, and numerous smaller objects: these have been distributed to different museums. The rock temples of Beni-Hassan have been surveyed, their inscriptions copied, and their best pictures reproduced by Messrs. Newberry, Fraser and Blackton. The results are to be published this year in two volumes.

A railway is projected to Luxor *viâ* Assiout, and may be extended to Wadi Halfa. A commission, of English, French, and German engineers has rejected the various schemes submitted for the drainage of Cairo, and decided for a new one by gravitation.

The Daira Sanieh accounts, which in 1886 had a deficit of 268,000*l.*, shows a surplus in 1891 of 37,000*l.*, to be used for the reduction of the Daira Loan. It is due to better supervision and cultivation.

The annual report on TUNIS states that the number of French residents has increased from 3,000 to 10,000, of whom 2,000 are children born in the country. The exports to France are given at 34,000,000 frs., and the imports 20,000,000 frs. Of wine 11,000 hectolitres were exported against 1,900 last year. Vine-growing is steadily increasing; and several new railways are in hand. In MOROCCO, what seemed a very threatening rebellion of the Kabyles aided by the mountaineers of Angera, caused by the excessive "squeezing" of the Pasha Governor, was luckily

appeased, after the rebels had appeared before Tangiers itself, by the simple expedient of replacing the extortionate Pasha by another—and let us hope a better—one. Swarms of locusts have ravaged various districts ; and small-pox has swept as an epidemic over the city of Morocco.

On the WEST AFRICAN COAST, Captain Binger on the French side, and Captain Lamb, R.E., are engaged on the delimitation of Ashanti. A small naval party had a brush with a refractory chief near Bathurst, to reduce him to reason. Operations are believed to be impending against the Jebus, a tribe lying between the coast and the industrious tribe of the Yorubas. Mr. G. T. Carter, C.M.G., held a conference (under an ultimatum), with the delegates of the Jebu chief, and it was agreed that the Jebus should keep the roads open for traffic through this territory, in consideration of 500*l.* a year. They have broken that agreement, and Government are awaiting advices from Mr. Carter, which will probably lead to a punitive expedition. In the German Cameroons there is a fall in trade, exports being 1,185,608 marks, a decrease of 383,636 marks ; imports 1,104,236 marks, a decrease of 128,975 marks. The list of imports deserves attention ; it begins with rum, gin, wine, beer, rifles, gunpowder, cartridges, etc. M. Dybowski found the remnants of M. Crampel's expedition and executed one of the murderers. The destruction of that expedition leaves in the hands of the natives 80 Gras rifles and 30,000 cartridges, besides large quantities of gunpowder, caps, and muzzle-loaders. Further in the interior we learn that M. de Brazza does not go on to Lake Chad, but stops near the junction of the Sikoko and Sangha rivers to extend French influence in those valleys. The French Soudan expedition, under Captain Humbert, consisting of about 150 Europeans and 1,000 natives, has beaten Samory and expelled him, after some very hard fighting. Sir Francis Fleming, K.C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of Hong-Kong, becomes Governor of Sierra Leone.

A great fire at Cape Town (CAPE COLONY) has, among

other damages, burnt down the archives of the Department of Native Affairs, an irretrievable loss. The telegraph has been completed up to Fort Salisbury, a distance of 1,646 miles. The railway between Cape Town and Johannesburg has been successively extended to Kroonstadt and the Vaal river, and will soon reach Viljoen's Drift, 35 miles from Johannesburg. The export of gold for 1891 from Cape Colony is given at 322,000*l*. The draft for NATAL Representative Government still hangs fire. Lord Knutsford insists on a second chamber, or on Native affairs being left to Imperial management; and the question is still undecided. Meanwhile, some members of the local press boldly challenge the fitness of the colony for immediate self-government.

EAST COAST.—The Anglo-Portuguese delimitation commission will soon be at work on the Pungwe; Major J. J. Levenson, R.E., Captain C. S. N. Grant, R.E., and F. E. Lawrence with Dr. H. Rayner and 5 non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers left England on the 19th March. In Vituland, a number of the natives having declared themselves independent, were convinced of their mistake by the argument of rifles, forcibly put before them by Mr. Rodgers of the British East Africa Co. A sad reverse is reported from S. Nyassaland, where, in punishing slavers, Captain Macguire, after burning two dhows, was drowned with three others, and his steamer having run aground was attacked by the Makajiras. It was got off, with the loss of nine Swahilis and Sikhs, and Dr. Boyer and Mr. McEwan killed, and Kleiner Urquhart, and nine others wounded. The post has been reinforced. There has been a serious explosion of gunpowder in Portuguese territory, important only as showing the nefarious traffic which supplies slavers with the means of oppression. The Portuguese have also had two revolts in Moza to deal with, which are not yet subdued.

The Wadigo rising against the Germans, said to be caused by traders on the coast as a protest against a new tax, is yet unsubdued, though they have been defeated with



great loss. The Emperor has given, through the Foreign Office, a sum of 100,000 marks for the relatives of those who were slain by the Wadigos in December. While Baron von Soden's administration is lauded by some to the skies, others represent it as lacking vigour and trusting to inexperienced young men; but he has at least established a monthly post into the interior. Through German territory much gunpowder is imported and sold to the Arabs.

Zanzibar was solemnly declared a free port on the 1st February, spirits and ammunition being excepted. The first East African newspaper was produced the same day by Messrs. Forwood Brothers. Parliament has, by a large majority, sanctioned 20,000*l.* for the survey of the Mombassa Railway, already begun last quarter. Various German exploring expeditions are announced. Dr. Baumann, an Austrian, goes from Tanga to explore Kilima Njaro, and Masaland to the Victoria Nyanza; he expects to return in 18 months. A reported discovery of immense quantities of saltpetre, nitre, etc., proves to be a much exaggerated version of Herr Ehler's previous discoveries. The Germans have decided on making a cart road to Kilima, at an expense of 4,000*l.*, and to establish a dock on the lake at an expense of 20,000*l.* A conflict is reported to be impending between Captain Lugard and Emin Pasha; but reports of the latter's doings are by no means trustworthy.

Father Ohrwalder, who escaped from THE SOUDAN with 2 nuns after 7 years' imprisonment, says that war, famine, and disease have destroyed three-fifths of the population; but now provisions are plentiful and water abundant in the wells. There were in Omdurman 75 Europeans, 500 Copts, and 1500 Egyptian Muhammadans, among them being some of the Austrian Mission, Slatin and Neufeld; Georghi Bey's daughter Victoria, P. Moratori, a son of Marno, 22 Greeks (3 women), 10 Syrians (2 women), 11 Jews (3 women). The children were about twenty; among them was the daughter of Lupton Pasha, thirteen years old, living with her Arab mother, now married to

Ahmed Zehni. Both powder and fulminate were manufactured, but there was a scarcity of lead for bullets. Great dissensions exist. The Mahdi's power is decreasing, and, according to the Father, the Soudan could be easily conquered by a combined movement from north and south.

V.

IN CANADA public attention has been excited to the highest pitch by the conflict between Mr. Angers, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, and Mr. Mercier, the late Premier. In December last, on the report of the Commission, which investigated the charges of corruption against members of the late Government, the Lieutenant-Governor dismissed Mr. Mercier and called upon Mr. De Boucherville to form a Cabinet; this he did, and then dissolved the Assembly. At the General Election just concluded, Mr. Mercier sustained a crushing defeat. Out of 73 members of the Legislative Assembly, 52 Conservatives, 4 Independents, and only 17 Liberals have been returned. Liberals and Conservatives have marked their hatred of corruption, by this vote.

Several members of the Dominion House of Commons were unseated on petitions. That Government have gained many of the elections thus caused shows that their successes last Spring were not due solely to the influence of the late Sir John Macdonald, and there is every indication that the great majority of Canadians maintain his policy of closer union with England. We trust that the very gratifying report will shortly be confirmed that the Government contemplate making a material reduction in the import duties on British manufactures, a policy which is in much favour in the Dominion. Professor Weldon, one of the ablest members of the House of Commons, advocates the plan as an important step towards Imperial Federation. It is stated that the Dominion Government has been making earnest efforts to settle the difficulty between Newfoundland and Canada on the Tariff and Fisheries questions, for these two colonies have

everything to lose and nothing to gain by imposing hostile duties on each other's productions. The Canadian Government seems prepared to revert to the *status quo*, and remove the duties on Newfoundland fish if the sister Colony return to the schedule of duties on Canadian products, pending the final settlement of the questions in dispute. Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada in London, is to confer with Mr. Harvey, a member of the Executive Council of Newfoundland, now in London, with a view to an agreement, if possible. A gentleman selected by the Imperial Government will assist them.

The negotiations between Canada and the United States for Commercial Reciprocity fail to show any probability of an early agreement. Some United States newspapers accused Canada of violating the Treaty of 1817, between England and the United States, regarding war ships on the lakes.

The Behring Sea negotiations now turn on the question whether the *modus vivendi* of last season shall be continued. The rather strong language used by the President of the United States, is meant more to influence the next Presidential Election than to threaten England. England and the United States have far too many interests in common to allow of their quarrelling over the Seal Fisheries, and public opinion in both countries would strongly condemn such folly. The Supreme Court has given judgment in the case of the sealer W. P. Sayward, to the effect that the application for a writ of prohibition against the Alaska Court must be refused. The decision stated that the owner of the vessel could have questioned the jurisdiction of that Court to try the case; but as he did not, the Supreme Court could not now, on the ground of the private rights of owners involved, issue a writ of prohibition to determine whether or not the Alaska Court had the jurisdiction clearly asserted on the face of the proceedings.

The Canadian Senate adopted an Address of condolence and sympathy with the Queen on the occasion of the death

of the Duke of Clarence, and a message of condolence to the Prince and Princess of Wales. The motion was made by the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, the Premier, and seconded by the Hon. R. W. Scott, Leader of the Opposition in the Senate.

The Canadian Estimates for next fiscal year are 141,500,000, or a decrease of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

**AUSTRALIA.**—The leading events in Australian politics during the quarter have been the absurd quarrel of one of the Colonies with the Bank of England;—a financial crisis attended by many failures;—the stopping of emigration owing to the want of employment, thousands being without work;—reconstruction and changes in the Ministries of Melbourne, Adelaide, and Sydney;—the rejection at Sydney of the “one man, one vote” Bill, by 5 votes; and the adoption of protection in New South Wales by the Ministry of Mr. Dibbs: the Bill passed with the small majority of nine votes. New South Wales was staunch to Free Trade when the rest of Australia declared for Protection; and it is strange that Protection should gain ground in Australia, just when some of the principal nations of Europe, with Germany at their head, are concluding Treaties of Commerce for moderating the rigid Protection so long prevalent. Nothing has been done this quarter towards Federation in Australia. The Census returns of New South Wales give the population at 1,132,234, including 14,156 Chinese and 8,280 aborigines. The increase, compared with 1881, is 380,766. The population of Sydney is 383,386, an increase of 158,447. The wool sales amounted to 590,000 bales, or double the output of five years ago. Recent good seasons in New South Wales and Queensland have so increased the production of sheep that the question of disposing of the surplus stock is becoming serious. In New South Wales 10,000,000 sheep must be got rid of during this year, while in Queensland there are some millions more sheep than it can safely carry. The old plan of boiling down sheep for tallow is recommended in New South Wales,

while bonuses for enlarging the export trade find favour in Queensland. There are said to be 20,000,000 cattle and 60,000,000 sheep. The imports of Australian wines into the United Kingdom for January and February last were 39,888 gallons, as against 36,058 gallons in the corresponding period of last year.

Severe floods have occurred in Queensland and New Zealand. At Townsville, in N. Queensland, the extraordinary quantity of  $19\frac{1}{4}$  inches of rain were registered in 24 hours last January; the whole district was under water, and all railway traffic was suspended till the floods subsided. In New Zealand, besides floods, earthquakes occurred in parts of the North Island, probably connected with the violent eruption of the volcano Ngauruhoe. Smoke and flames rose from the crater to an immense height, and the spectacle, especially at night, was extremely grand.

Lord Onslow has resigned the Governorship of New Zealand, and has been succeeded by the Earl of Glasgow.

The important announcement is made that the Australian Governments have decided to appoint a Joint Military Adviser in London, and have instructed their Agents-General to select an officer who must be on the active List and a member of the Ordnance Committee. The salary is 800*l.* a year, with an office, and 200*l.* a year for a clerk.

The cable traffic in Australia shows a deficit of 50,000*l.*, which will have to be borne equally by the Colonies and the Company. A cable is projected between Gladstone, in Queensland, *via* Fiji, Samoa, and Honolulu, to the British American coast; and from Adelaide comes the project of a trans-continental railway northwards, shortening the journey to England by eight days.

The deadlock between the Government Railway Departmental head and the Permanent Board of Commissioners regarding economies. The Board has been suspended in accordance with the last sessions Act. The Chairman, Mr. Speight offers to carry out orders, if the Department undertake all responsibility.

WEST INDIAN news is comparatively unimportant. Barbados, Trinidad, and Jamaica, will each send two deputies to meet the Chambers of Commerce in June. There has been a riot in Jamaica of no consequence. Sir W. Markby, K.C.I.E., and Sir Frederick Pollock go to Trinidad as Commissioners to examine the local system of jurisprudence, the defects of which we noted in our last summary: Mr. A. F. Wilson acts as Secretary. Sir James Hay, K.C.M.G., Governor of Sierra Leone, becomes Governor of Barbados.

Our OBITUARY list this quarter is unusually heavy:—The great oriental scholar, E. Rehatsek, of Wilson College, Bombay, and fellow of the University; Mr. Shentaram Narayan, whose energy and ability raised him to the position of Government Pleader of Bombay; Rao Bahadur Venak Jenardhan Kirtone, many years Dewan of the Baroda State; Gajanam Krishna Bhatavedekar, Naib Dewan of Baroda; Sir Robert Grove Sandeman, K.C.S.I., Governor-General's Agent in Beluchistan, by whose firm yet sympathetic action that once wild State was brought bloodlessly into the sphere of British suzerainty; H. H. the Newab of Junagadh, an enlightened and loyal ruler; Bishop Crowther, of the Niger, of full negro blood, venerable for his age and labours in Africa; Professor de Lagarde Boetecher, of Göttingen, a great Iranian scholar; Sir James Redhouse, K.C.M.G., learned in Arabic and Turkish, and a distinguished diplomatist; Mr. Cashel Hoey, C.M.G., for 20 years permanent secretary to the Victorian Agent in London; Mr. Francis Baring Kemp, late judge of the High Court, Calcutta; H. E. Yahia Khan, Muschir-ud-Dowla, Persian Minister of Justice and Commerce; Sir Thomas Pycroft, K.C.S.I.; Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.S.I., who did excellent service as Chief Commissioner of Oudh; Colonel James Grant, the friend and comrade of Speke; Dr. Wilhelm Junker, a distinguished scientific traveller in Africa; Sir William Gregory, K.C.M.G., late Governor of Ceylon; General Sir George Byng

Harman, K.C.B., Secretary to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny and the Egyptian campaign; Mr. William Tayler, Commissioner of Patna during the Mutiny, who, after being arbitrarily dismissed, lived and died the victim of an injustice which was openly acknowledged by historians and biographers, but was, to British disgrace, left unredressed; Sir George Campbell, M.P., K.C.S.I., some time Lieut.-Governor of Bengal; Sir John Hay, since 1883 President of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, who died at Sydney 20th January; and the Right Rev. Mesac Thomas, D.D., Bishop of Goulburn, New South Wales, consecrated in 1863.

There has passed away in India a man to the record of whose glorious life we devote a few lines. Gaorishankar Udayashankar, C.S.I., born in 1805 of a high caste Brahman family, entered the service of the Bavnagar State at the age of 17, and by his ability, diligence, uprightness and strength of character, rose gradually to the high office of Dewan. His administration recalled the best style and type of Indian statesmanship, in which he had few equals. He merited the entire approval of the British Government, the thorough confidence of his own sovereign, and the respectful affection of the people. At the age of 74, after 55 years of continued service, he voluntarily retired into private life, devoting himself to study and prayer. Later, at the age of 81, he made a more perfect and complete renunciation of the world, by adopting the ascetic life of a Sunnyavi as a preparation for death. Full of years, virtues, and merits, this eminent statesman, profound scholar, and great man has passed to his rest, leaving an example for the admiration and imitation of both Orientals and Occidentals.

V.

20th March, 1892.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Egypt under the Pharaohs.* By HEINRICH BRUGSCH-BEY. (London: John Murray.)

*Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers.* By MISS AMELIA B. EDWARDS. (London: Osgood MacIlvaine & Co.)

*Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria.* By Prof. Dr. G. MASPERO, translated by ALICE MORTON. (London: Chapman & Hall.)

*Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, 1889-90.* By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. (London: David Nutt, 1891.)

The peculiar interest of Egyptian studies must at present be rapidly growing, to judge from the numerous publications which issue in a continuous stream. Here we have four books, of equal interest and utility, and we can only regret that space does not allow us to notice them at greater length. Mr. M. Broderich, in the first, gives us the substance of Brugsch-Bey's History of Egypt told entirely from the monuments. The author's name is good guarantee of the genuine merit of the work, heavy though it is in parts: no student of Egypt should be without it. We could have wished that some effort had been made in it to determine which, if any, of the dynasties were contemporaneous and parallel. This would bring to more natural limits, the cycles of time, which, though considerably reduced below the cruder guesses of the past, are not yet brought quite within the range of probability.

Miss Edwards' book is more discursive, as it is a reproduction of her popular Egyptological lectures. It is well written, and well illustrated; and the publishers have done it full justice. We note, as one of its most interesting points, a new theory regarding the *Ka*, variously explained by different Egyptologists, and suggested by Miss Edwards to mean the *life*. She certainly adduces some strong arguments; but they do not quite settle the question. As another case of doctors disagreeing in Egyptology (as in other matters) it is amusing to compare the accounts of Queen Hatshepsut, given by Miss Edwards who finds her all that is good, and Brugsch-Bey who declares her to be just the reverse.

Professor Maspero's work is that of a thorough master, and deals separately with Egypt and Assyria. In each case he takes one episode of history, and works into it, with consummate art, all the details of national life, which his deep study and thorough acquaintance with his subjects bring readily and easily to his hands, as he requires them. Without the form of a novel, he produces in the reader the effects which only a first-class historical novel can produce; the imagination under his guidance makes for itself a thorough reconstruction of a fabric which the breath of ages has long swept away. We thus realize life in ancient Egypt and Assyria, to a degree unattainable by the reading of mere history or the hearing of dry details. The work of translation is very well done.



In quite a different way Mr. Flinders Petrie also reproduces the past. To other qualifications he joins that of a judicious digger; and his discoveries have already added much to Egyptology, and promise even more. To us, the most interesting part of the finds here recorded are the fragments of pottery at Kahun, the plan of the city and its houses for both rich and poor, and the papyri, the latter in only too fragmentary a form. If little absolutely new has been found, greater light has been thrown upon the domestic life of Egypt, and the possibility at least shown of more important discoveries, it is to be hoped, in the not distant future. The pottery remains seem to strengthen the suggestions of Fr. de Caumont de La Force of the Pelasgic-Hittite origin of ancient ceramic art; and the papyri, of a date long anterior to the Alexandrian "editions," open out important questions for the students of the classic Greek authors.

All these works are beautifully illustrated, each in its own particular style. Hieroglyphics predominate in Brugsch; Maspero judiciously reproduces a few ancient forms; Miss Edwards' book carries the palm for general illustrations, ancient and modern; while Mr. Petrie gives thirty-two elaborate plates which leave little to the imagination.

2. *Imperial Defence*, by SIR C. W. DILKE, BART., and SPENCER WILKINSON. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892.) The Empire is so completely unprepared for war, that all who expose the actual intolerable state of affairs, military and naval, deserve well of their country. The ideal of all nations living peacefully together for any length of time without a war cannot, unfortunately, be realized till France and Russia change their spots. Hence this work begins by showing in the Introduction why, and when, nations must fight. The absolute dependence of the Empire on the supremacy of the navy, and the necessity and means of holding the command of the sea, are well and clearly shown in the two first chapters—at needless length, perhaps, for these are, or ought to be, axioms with all. The next chapter, on the *Peace of India*, does not give sufficient weight to the existent and continually growing loyalty of natives towards British rule on one side, and on the other to their dawning and daily increasing knowledge of Russian rule at home and abroad. These two, and time are great elements in our hope that, at no distant period, Russia will recognize the impossibility of having England alone to deal with. Chapter IV. will perhaps be the most interesting to our readers, as it gives a careful survey, topographical, political and strategic, of the Indian N.W. Frontier, with small but carefully worked-out maps. We do not agree with all the suggestions of the authors, and think the peace of India cannot be secured without the final and formal decision of Britain that any Russian advance, no matter how small, on the Herat, Badakshan or Pamir sides, will be met with an immediate declaration of war to be fought out to the bitter end of the crippling and dismembering of one or other combatant. The next two chapters deal with the British army. A few of the projects for its improvement are already well known to the public, many are simply the suggestions of rash reformers, dealing with matters they know only in part. The army, as we know it, is quite capable of meeting any other army, man for man, or at

reasonable expectations. What is needed is—more men, more horses, more guns—in other words, more money. This book should be read by all, as it will at least show where the Empire is deficient, and that money is wanted to supply its deficiencies. Great Britain, however, cannot alone defend the Empire: the whole Empire must defend itself as a whole. Of this fact we see little in this book; but the case is clear. Australia, Canada, and all other dependencies of the Empire should, like India, maintain their own armies, navies, and reserves, ready to answer the call of the Central Government. We mean a real Imperial Federation for defence. This, however, is an impossibility, till Great Britain openly declares her intention of using the combined power of the Empire for the defence of even the smallest rights of her smallest colonies, against any and all comers. The case of Newfoundland unhappily belies this hope, and leaves the colonies no sufficient and practical reason for spending themselves in aiding the mother country in the matter of Imperial Defence, V.

*Britannic Confederation* (London and Liverpool: George Philip and Son, 1894), consists of an introduction by Mr. A. SILVA WHITE, the able Secretary of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, and six essays on various phases of what is more commonly called Imperial Federation. Admiral Sir J. Colomb shows how unsatisfactory the present state of affairs is. Professor E. A. Freeman states a number of difficulties in the way of the scheme, enough to damp the most ardent spirit. Mr. G. E. Chisholm gives a long paper (some points of which are denied in subsequent papers), and three diagrams on Imperial Commerce, held by many, and we think wrongly, to be the strongest thread in the bond of unity. Professor J. Shield Nicholson, of Edinburgh, deals with tariffs and international commerce, the connection of which with Imperial Federation is not very apparent. Principal M. H. Hervey, who wrote a cognate paper in our Review, treats of Alternative Measures, and puts the results of Federation and Disintegration from the different points of view, of the mother country, and the colonies. Lord Thring ends with the most practical paper in the series, on the Consolidation of the British Empire. The whole work is well worthy the attention of all British subjects; and will doubtless help in forming among the reading classes that public opinion in favour of Imperial Federation; which as yet is by no means general. But for the bulk of our people we need Federation literature of a simpler kind: cheap and plainly written tracts, sown broadcast in both the United Kingdom and the Colonies. What strikes us as singular in these essays, is the unanimous exclusion, even from discussion, of the Indian Empire: and yet India alone of all British Colonies and Dependencies, is really confederated, for attack and defence and for commerce, with the United Kingdom, and pays for what it gets. With a carefully prepared and gradually enlarged scheme of Representative government, of which there is no reason to despair in the future, and less interference on the part of the India Office and of crack-brained reformers, India would be a good type on which Federation might be founded. While colonists of Anglo-Saxon blood impotently swagger about an independence which they are powerless singly to maintain, India, at a

month's notice, can even now lend 50,000 splendid troops, to fight England's battles anywhere in the world. As the loyalty of India, based on the acknowledged benefits it has received, gradually strengthens with the progress of education, her 280 millions cannot be omitted from any rational plan of Confederation; and it is childish to discuss schemes which leave out of consideration so important a component of the British Empire. V.

4. *Earl Canning*, by SIR H. S. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E. (Oxford: *The Clarendon Press*, 1891.) This volume of the *Rulers of India* Series, well written though it is, does not quite reach the high level of its predecessors. On putting it down, Lord Canning still remains a shrouded figure; for we have only glimpses, here and there, of his life, whether public or private. The rather diffuse treatment of the Mutiny leaves little room for depicting Canning's action during and after that eventful explosion. There is also too much indiscriminate praise, and an inclination to pass lightly over mistakes made, opportunities lost, and blame needlessly incurred; but due notice is taken of Lord Canning's noble stand against the first savage thirst for revenge—one of his many great claims to the gratitude and respect of mankind, which his conscientious devotion to duty, his unflinching firmness, and his judicial calmness, all tend to strengthen.

Sir H. Cunningham, the far more outspoken Sir Owen Burne, and the graphic and exact Malleson, have all left an important point behind them, an unwritten chapter of the History of the Indian Mutiny, which should not long remain unwritten. Of the alleged causes of the Mutiny, most were but sources of discontent and grumbling: service in Burma, the batta question, the Oudh annexation, would never have caused a mutiny like that of 1857. It was the attempt to ruin the religion of the Sepoy and make him an outcast from his fellow caste-men, that drove him to what, in his heart, he detested. The fat of cow and pig was admittedly used in the manufacture of cartridges—thus defiling both Hindus and Muhammadans. Why? and by whose orders? The veriest tyro in India must have known the result—loss of caste—of their use. The fat of sheep, goats, or buffaloes, would not have been so objectionable. Whence came the choice of those ingredients? If we cannot blink the fact that they were decided upon with the knowledge of the result upon the Sepoy's religion and caste, was it not a deliberate attempt to overturn both surreptitiously? It has never been denied that such fat was used; but no one has dared to lift the veil hiding the heads which designed, and the hands which carried out, an attempt as dastardly and wicked as it was insane. There were just then many officials of high standing in both the civil and military services, whose hot intemperate zeal for their religion was not limited to obeying its behests, but burst forth in fiery attempts to destroy all other religions. Among the documents to which the writers of this Series have easy access, there must be papers and reports on this subject. It is high time that the veil be raised, the conspiracy of silence be ended. Let us see if the Sepoy was really and designedly wounded in his dearest

sentiment—his religion, and goaded into mutiny. While we deplore and condemn the excesses committed at that epoch—not all by the natives—we have all along thought that the chief responsibility for the Mutiny lay with high officials whose names are still kept shrouded from the public obloquy they deserve. V.

5. *Madhava Rao Sindhia*, by H. G. KEENE, C.I.E., M.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891.) This is an excellent volume of the *Rulers of India* Series, very pleasantly written by an author who to gracefulness of style adds a thorough knowledge of the country, people, and times which he depicts for the reader with the ease of a practised and masterly hand. Mr. Keene has to deal with a troubled epoch of Indian history, portions of which, but little studied by most, have been travestied by the few who have written on the subject. One may, in these pages, learn much regarding the Rohillas, with little to their credit; much also regarding the Maharattas, whose character improves on acquaintance. Among them, Mr. Keene's hero towers both for ability and comparative probity. Steady of purpose, strong of will, mighty in deed, Madhava Rao, a typical Maharatta leader, not only helped, as Mr. Keene says, in the making of history, and in the moulding of India into its present form, but he also showed, in almost every act of his life, a character for kindness of disposition, gratitude, fidelity and sobriety, as honourable to himself as it is unfortunately rare amid the turmoil of camps and the intrigues of politics. The great state which Madhava Rao founded still retains a Maharatta on the throne; and amid the troubles of the Mutiny it well maintained its loyalty to the British, a tradition inherited, it would seem, from the deference always paid by Madhava Rao to Warren Hastings and his successors. We can sincerely recommend this book to our readers as the spirited and graphic account of an interesting epoch and of a leading character in the history of India. V.

6. *Arithmetic for Indian Schools*, by the REV. J. B. LOCK, M.A., arranged for use in India by T. C. LEWIS, M.A. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1891.) An elaborate school book has here been edited for use in India, by the addition of examples in Indian weights, measures and coinage. It is a good book, but not faultless; the language is not plain, the principles are not laid down in simple terms, and several of the definitions are not only obscure but also inaccurate. Useful in the hands of a good teacher, it can be of little help to the unaided private student. V.

7. *Queen Elizabeth*, by E. SPENCER BEESLY. (London: Macmillan & Co.) Elizabeth's place in the series of *Twelve English Statesmen* is unquestionable; and her qualities, in many respects the reverse of feminine, make her appearance amid eleven of the sterner sex less of a bull than it otherwise might be. Mr. Beesly's sketch, historically accurate in the main, presents her to the reader as anything but an admirable woman. Her sole motive is her interest; to keep on the throne her sole quest; her intellectual grasp of the political situation, and her dexterous playing of France against Spain, her sole redeeming trait. On these last points, Mr. Beesly gives her the extreme of praise, forgetting that this



*History of the Punjab* by S. The remotest antiquity to the present day.  
by SAYAJI MURHAMMAN LAR, Fellow of the Punjab University, M.B.A.  
(Calcutta: Central Press Company, Ltd., 1901.) This well-illustrated  
volume of 635 pages, written and published in India, quite carries  
out the author's intention, and gives us a full history of the part of India of  
which it treats, compiled from classical sources so far as  
these, and from both native and European writers of the  
last 150 years, plain and graceful; and the author  
himself in the service of the Indian Government, a  
native speaker, conversant with the English language, but  
possessed of historical views, both ancient and modern  
right on his subject. He writes from an independent  
standpoint, does not fail to show the benefits of  
British rule, and if all his fellow-subjects  
are so fully founded on the best of all bases—  
truth, to fear his adversary. The frequent use of Ori-  
ental and classical authorities combined with the thorough

knowledge of the Punjab, to make this work  
valuable. It constitutes the basis on  
which will be a high place among Indian history  
books, and will be a valuable addition to the knowledge  
of the Punjab, and a valuable addition to the  
knowledge of the Punjab.

Dr. Roberton, of Glasgow, here furnishes  
a most excellent means of judging the nature of  
the work of Holy Scripture. Dr. Roberton, who  
descends to the south and north, can  
be in such a "massive library" begin to account  
for his words, and from the scattered signs  
uncovered and persons, he writes these  
and high. He conclusively shows how largely this  
work of groundless assumptions, the assertions, and  
the suppositions, grave denials of facts, and  
systematic ignoring of archaeology and flat ex-  
aggeration. Professor Robertson shows that a  
the modern false criticism is composed of spec-  
ies of common sense, and of theories which are  
a dream. We may add that these doughty critics agree  
themselves that one kills the other, like the old  
Christians, after whose mutual slaughter a song  
is to the Christian apologists of the Scripture.  
and to all who believe in Holy Writ, and wish to  
see the work on the Old Testament criticism

11. *Women's Influence in the East.* By JOHN J. POOL. (London: Elliot Stock, 1892.) It is to be hoped that the growing interest taken by Europe in matters connected with Indian women will procure for this work a more favourable reception than usually falls to the lot of books dealing with India. It gives sketch-lives of twenty-seven Indian ladies, who by the love they inspired in others, or by the greater and nobler means of their own talents and virtues, influenced the course of public events. So little is known by the general reader regarding India, that the tales here told will come as a revelation to the multitude who little suspect the numerous instances furnished by Indian history, of daring deeds, romantic attachments, chivalrous sentiments, talented womanhood, and brilliant virtues, which like gems shine with all the greater lustre in the dark setting of their surroundings. The author does full justice to his interest in a subject, though his pages are not free from blemishes, among which mistakes in Oriental words is the chief. There are a few among his heroines whose claim to a place in this galaxy one may question, like the Princess Ayesha, who did little beyond marring the prospects of a by no means very brilliant prince-lover. Others whose claims are undoubted are omitted—like the Princess Jehanara, the misguided but valiant Rani of Jhansi, and Rani Rajindhar of Patiala. Let us hope that these will grace the pages of a second volume, as Sir Lepel Griffin suggests in the short but excellent and sympathetic introduction which he has written for this work. We fully share Sir Lepel's view, that much as the system of Oriental female seclusion is railed at by those who know it not yet seek to overturn it, it has neither suppressed the manifestations of feminine genius, nor injured the purity of feminine virtues. Those who know and love the East do not expect much good from the substitution of an unsuitable system, which in our own West shows at least as many bad fruits as good, and contrasts by no means very favourably with the system which the ignorant despise and the fanatics try to uproot.

V.

12. *A Traveller's Narrative of the Episode of the Bábi.* By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. 2 vols. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1891.) The first volume gives a photo-lithographic copy of the clearly-written MS. of which the second volume is a good translation with copious notes by Professor Browne. Written by a Bábi, and translated and commented by one who candidly says he began his investigations as an admirer and sympathizer, one cannot expect in these pages anything like unprejudiced history of a secret sect, which certainly did not, at any time, promise much from its rather visionary and communistic teaching, and which, according to more recent accounts, seem dying out. It is more to the student of Persian and Arabic that the work will be of interest, as a specimen of modern Persian style. Though interesting in this light to the philologist, it shows a poverty and barbarism of style and language which would promise little for the future of Persian literature, were it to be taken as a specimen of all later writings. The Bábi MS. is well edited and well translated by Professor Browne, and well got up by the University Press. The translation, however, is susceptible of improvement here and there; and we note, certainly not with approbation, that in the printed Oriental type in the

second volume the initial form of the sixth to ninth letters of the Persian alphabet is always given where medial and final forms should be used. This attempt at simplifying matters for the compositors at the expense of accuracy in calligraphy must be unsparingly condemned. Professor Browne may not succeed in his attempt at popularizing Bábism—and for that part of his work one is tempted to ask *cui bono?*—but he certainly has produced a very fine book, of great interest to Oriental scholars, for singularity of matter and style, and well edited. V.

13. *Himalayan Journals*, by SIR J. D. HOOKER, K.C.S.I. (London: Ward, Lock & Co.) This, the 32nd volume of the Minerva Library, is the detailed account of a three years' stay in the East,—a mine of information for the botanist, the geologist, and the anthropologist, while it is a pleasant narrative for the general reader. It is profusely and well illustrated. Reprinted from the first edition, now nearly 40 years old, it contains nothing new; yet it is still a most interesting account of expeditions into two parts of the Himalayas which have not been frequently visited, either before or since, by enthusiasts for science, like Sir Joseph Hooker. To the ordinary reader they describe quite a *terra incognita*, and describe it well. The author's services to science are too well known to require mention; yet these pages show a devotion to his pursuits, and a thorough spirit of sacrificing everything, and running every risk for the objects of his expedition, which fairly entitle Sir Joseph to rank not only as one of the leaders, but also as one of the martyrs, of science. His descriptions of the races which he visited are good; and the terms on which he lived with them, especially his favourite Lepchas, reflect credit on both parties. Messrs. Ward Lock & Co. have our thanks for a useful, interesting, and pleasant book. V.

14. *The Real Jesus*, by JOHN VICKERS. (London: Williams & Norgate.) This is the superficial and rather declamatory work of a Theist, "from a Jewish point of view" (he says). It is, of course, in a violently anti-Christian strain: like a bad actor, he tears a passion to rags, and out-Herods Herod. Even Graetz, whom he occasionally quotes, refutes much of what Mr. Vickers says, and would certainly have declined to follow him in his diatribes. Jewish authors (quite able to defend themselves) have generally a far higher idea of at least the historical character, which Mr. Vickers here clumsily misrepresents. His attempt has not even the merit of novelty, ingenuity, or good writing. His calibre as a writer may be gauged from his pompous statement (p. 24): "Some of the finest cathedrals in this country are said to have been at their first erection scarcely better than thatched barns." This is a violation of history, architecture, and common sense, unless he means, what he does not say, that the predecessors of the *later grand cathedrals* were such barns. His history is of a piece with this sample of sense and style. V.

15. *A Grammar of the Khassi Language*. By REV. H. ROBERTS. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.) This volume of Trübner's collection of simplified grammars deals with a comparatively unimportant language used only in a corner of India, but deals with it well. Its principal faults seem to be excess of detail, and a rather strange desire of making it serve



the purpose of teaching English grammar to Khasi readers. We can only say that beginners of the Khasi are likely to be perplexed by the former, and the Khasis who can read and understand this grammar will not need to be taught English. The work, however, is well worthy of its place in an excellent Series.

16. *A Second Supplement to the Anglo-Indian Codes.* By WALTER STOKES, D.C.L., etc. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press.) Like its predecessor, this Supplement gives recent decisions on the India Code, and a summary of Indian legislation to the end of May, 1891. The author's high qualifications for the task render it needless to do more than call attention to the publication of the pamphlet.

17. *Jerusalem: its History and Hope.* By Mrs. OUPHART. (London: Macmillan & Co.) Some books defeat the very purpose of their authors: this is one. It is well written, well illustrated, well got up, and pleasant to read; yet it tells rather of the Rhapsodist than the Historian. It gives the scriptural history of Jerusalem, much diluted with sentimental platitudes. Pugnacious in parts, it bristles with denials against criticism of the Holy Scriptures. The author fails to see that criticism is only wrong when it is rash and unwarranted; and that reverence to the sacred writings is quite consistent with free discussion. But it is useless to argue with one who believes that *all* the Psalms were written by David himself—including that "By the Waters of Babylon?"—simply because they have been commonly called the Psalms of David!

18. *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India.* By CAPTAIN C. R. DAY. (London: Novello, Ewer & Co.) To give this splendid book its deserts would require not a notice, but an article. It is the work of a specialist, and bears on every page the impress of great reading and much personal observation, with a thorough knowledge of the science of music. It shows, what many, from ignorance, doubt that Ancient India took the lead in music, as in many other sciences and arts, and that the Indian ear was cultivated to a pitch which we perhaps have not yet attained, of appreciating minute intervals of sound. We can, from personal experience, vouch for the author's correctness in stating that excellent music can still be heard in India, but only when diligently sought, though the art, like many others, is, alas! dying out. The book is beautifully illustrated, and carefully written. In fact it leaves little to be desired unless it be an explanation of the difference between the *Ragas* and their corresponding *Rāgnis*. We congratulate Captain Day on having produced a book of great merit, and recommend it to our readers, as a work not to be glanced over, but to be studied with care.

19. *The Story of Africa and its Explorers.* By Dr. ROSENFELD BROWN. (London: Cassell & Co., Pt. 1.) Under the able editorship of an experienced traveller and writer, this work promises to supply a thorough account of African exploration, and some solution of the problems of races and languages. It is splendidly illustrated, and the map presented with this part is about the best we have seen.

20. *Historical Essays (Fourth Series).* By PROFESSOR E. A. FARMER. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892.) This bulky volume gives us twenty-

two essays contributed, by the erudite and painstaking Regius Professor of History, Oxford, on various subjects, to different Reviews, some as long ago as 1868, others only last year. If not all strictly speaking historical, they are all historically treated in the Professor's well-known, remarkable and admirable form, and are sure to meet the attention they deserve. Since this short notice was written, we have to lament the death of the gifted author, whose sound judgment, wide reading, deep erudition, clear penetration, and quickness in grasping salient and distinctive points amid a mass of details, placed him in the front rank of our historians. V.

21. *Eight Days. A novel* by R. E. FORREST (London : Smith, Elder & Co.), would have been readable enough had the author not drawn the eight days to an interminable length. Like most modern novel writers he has the great fault of being too prolix. The plot of the story is laid in Khazirabad and centres chiefly round five English girls, their respective admirers and sad adventures and destinies, during the eight days' mutiny there. The author must have lived in India, for he describes Indian station life well, and with a certain sense of humour as if he was laughing in his sleeve all the time over some of the characters he no doubt has taken from real life. However, as already said, he is apt to be wearisome by going too much into details about mere trifles. The novel will doubtless be much appreciated by young people, especially by girls who will probably go into raptures over the chapter "Under the Moonlight," where Beatrice Fane, one of the heroines, is thus described : "She stands there with the now vivid moonlight falling full on her golden hair, on her *snowy-skinned* (a new-coined phrase) beautiful face, on her downward flowing snowy robes, her stately beautiful figure, verily she looks like a celestial being—like a daughter of the gods."

The mixture of sentimentality with the tragico-comic and heroic, is sometimes highly amusing. Still there are many passages of real and exquisite pathos scattered through the novel, and some of the characters are well drawn ; for instance, Captain Lennox, and the Begum in all her fiendish wickedness and beauty. We would advise the author in future not to let his pen run away with him, but to use some little repression in his style and feelings, and condense his next production. E. J. A.

22. *Missionaries in China.* By ALEXANDER MICHIE, Tientsin. (London : E. Stanford.) We had occasion to refer to this really important work in our last issue in connection with Mr. Michie's article in that number on "India and China." The author, though modestly claiming only to shed a little light on the subject, well succeeds in dispelling the mist that hangs round one of the most important questions of the day, whose full significance and bearing is thoroughly appreciated by statesmen and merchants. Indeed, the use of missionaries as an unrivalled disintegrating force, is well recognized ; and who shall blame the missionaries, these arch-converters, these true alchemists, these possessors of the philosopher's stone ? Is this *magnum opus*, on which the teaching of several hundred sects converges, a small matter ? Is it nought to take the base metal—the outward civilization, the pomp and riches, etc.—from the heathen, and to convert this dross for his benefit into blessing everlasting ? Never was

transmutation more thorough ; out of the material and transient has sprung the spiritual and enduring. Oh, Convert ! Not a stain sullies thy soul that, by this simple process has been saved ; follow the teaching of these masters of wisdom, and the clutches of mammon close—not on thee, who art liberated, but—on thy teacher, who, a willing sacrifice, has offered himself up for thee ! Refuse not the inestimable boon !

But Mr. Michie is careful not to take a one-sided view ; he is as impartial to the Chinese as to the missionaries. A great distinction must also be drawn between the different ingredients that go to make up this explosive and corrosive compound, known as the missionary body. On the one hand, there are men of great learning, large views, discrimination, and tolerance ; on the other, there are a strange jumble of half-witted enthusiasts and keen-witted hypocrites, whose arrogance towards native officials, obstinacy and intolerance towards everything outside their narrow horizon is well described by Mr. Michie, and may have formed the cause of many a so-called outrage.

The latter class are a remarkable people altogether ; they are as a rule attached to the “China Inland Mission.” Every member has a different and yet the only true doctrine ; the good in the benighted heathen around them is regarded as a trick of Satan ; they claim for themselves the utmost tolerance, yet are ever engaged in vilifying and undermining the ethics, customs, and religion of their neighbours ; they persist in forming *imperia in imperio*, with themselves as nuclei, and their converts as bulwarks ; the Chinese authorities are defied, deep plans are laid for getting pork mixed secretly with the food of a Mahomedan, or meat with that of a vegetarian—vegetarianism, as Mr. Michie informs us, is rather common in China—yet these strange people shirk the consequences of their deeds and do not eagerly embrace well-deserved martyrdom, but call on all the powers in heaven and Europe to revenge their wrongs upon their foes ! Space forbids the mention of other unpleasant traits—so ably exposed by Mr. Michie—in the character of these self-constituted agents of Providence, but not even the most superficial observer would fail to notice the remarkable fact of their perfect familiarity with the purposes of the Almighty, and their child-like and touching confidence in the righteousness of their cause and their own personal infallibility. Roman Catholic missionaries, in China as elsewhere, stand out conspicuously, in their unostentatious procedure, not only from this vulgar herd, but from other missionary societies as well.

Much importance attaches to Mr. Michie’s plan of a *modus vivendi* ; so much the more, as we believe that the truly enlightened and intelligent leaders of the missionaries—like the learned Dr. Edkins and others—are inclined to agree with it. The main feature would be to place the Christian religion *practically*, and not only theoretically—as it already is—on the footing of a State religion, and, guarded by suitable agreements, under the protection of the Chinese Government, which would quickly curb all unruly element on the side of Christians and non-Christians. It must not be forgotten that in this matter the generally sluggish Government of China has itself, on one occasion, taken the initiative in preparing proposals ; but this did not suit the States whose desire is

to push their own interests only : in this respect France is the chief offender, for it extends quite an undesired protection to the very people—the French missionaries—who, by its laws, are exiled from their native country.

A conviction is growing up, we are glad to say, that the command “*ite docete*” is not intended to be supported by men-of-war, and it is whispered that the greatest obstacle to the spread of Christianity are the missionaries themselves. H.

23. *The Chinese ; their present and future : medical, political and social.* By ROBERT COLTMAN, JR., M.D. The author, with an enthusiasm that does him credit, resolved upon seeing the land of those mysterious, incomprehensible Chinese, whom he constantly encountered in America. As the outcome of this wish, we discover him—on turning over a few pages—installed as surgeon and consulting physician of one of the innumerable missionary societies. The book is decidedly interesting, though it seems curious that the author does not try to be a little more *receptive* instead of *restore*. We do not think it so very clever to “crow” over Chinese literati, by exposing their ignorance of the precise distance of the sun from the earth, the diameter of the moon, etc., etc. ; and putting them to shame by remarking that ten-year-old American boys know “useful little facts like these.” Not everyone has the good fortune to be born a free citizen of a free republic, where each individual can do what he likes, provided, of course, some other stronger individual, or one who is a better marksman, allows him. The chapters devoted to the medical experiences of the author, are probably the most valuable ; vegetarians will be pleased to learn that the cures amongst a population living mainly on vegetables, are more rapid and thorough, than amongst those feeding on the flesh of animals. It surprises us that the author should not have taken the trouble to subject the native systems of medicine to a thorough and candid examination. Speaking of the “social evil,” which appears to have spread nearly as much in China as in the West, the author quotes a method invented, and actually put into execution by Judge Yuan of Chinanfoo, who effected both purification of the district and individual reform by a very singular expedient. Western judges have assumed the grey locks of age and wisdom, but they have not as yet thought of laying pretence to such originality. H.

24. *Arabes et Kabyles.* Par Le Vte. DE CAIX DE SAINT AYMOUR. (Paris : Paul Ollendorff.) The learned author sets himself the task of disabusing his countrymen of all the fanciful notions regarding Algeria, that in France appear to take the place of real knowledge on the subject. We thoroughly agree with the author that there is absolutely no meaning in the term “l'indigène,” or our own “native,” and that it is absurd to class a number of totally distinct races under that one very vague term. As regards the author's contention that the only hope for bettering the condition of non-Europeans, and vanquished races, is the spread of Christianity, a task which should not be left to private enterprise only, but be aided by the Government, it is much open to dispute ; nor is the example of Europe, and France, to which the author points in particular, so very convincing, for, in the first place European civilization, whether

good or bad, has absolutely no connection with Christianity, and secondly, we are not aware that France is, in any sense, such a stronghold of the Faith as is implied. Vicomte de Saint Aymour's colonization plan is certainly very interesting, especially in the chapter treating of the Berber mountaineers as colonizers; the author is nothing, if not thorough, and there is no doubt that his plan would, if put into execution, stamp out in a short time all the religious and race characteristics of the people subjected to its effects, and make them first-rate French caricatures. The book is admirably written, and well worth perusal. M.

25. *Grammatik, Vocabularium und Sprachproben der Sprache von Murray Island.* Von Dr. A. GRAF V. SCHULENBURG. (Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich.) The author deserves praise for having undertaken what would surely seem, at first sight, an uninteresting and thankless task. The culture of that happy island is little removed from zero; intelligence has apparently not sufficed to evolve a system of numeration beyond the number *two*; *three* is already a very vague term; numbers beyond three are produced by combinations of two, and two-and-three. The missionaries have it seems had pity on the unfortunate people, and have now supplied them with a kind of "pigeon" English for their numbers; they have also given them words for prophet and wine, etc. Two of the shorter gospels have been translated, and by the kindness of Dr. R. N. Cust—the great authority on all languages of which no one else knows anything—our author has utilized them in his book, which is elaborated with characteristic German scholarship and thoroughness. M.

26. *Die Jabim-Sprache der Finschhafener Gegend.* By Dr. O. SCHELLONG. (Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich.) This book, like the preceding one, forms a contribution to Messrs. W. Friedrich's valuable series on comparative linguistics. The Yabim language is a little more interesting than that of Murray Island, as it is altogether a more developed vehicle for the expression of thought. There *are* numerals in this language, and they go by *fives*. The author has also discovered that there is accentuation, but its rules seem as yet to elude him.

We must congratulate the author on his acute sense of hearing: to show instances of onomatopoeic possibilities in the language, "gělúp," to fly (of a bird); "tăliti," to run; "ssëbëng ssëbëng," quick; and other similar examples are quoted: to us these instances seem by no means so very striking as to deserve being picked out. On the whole, the book reflects credit on author and publisher alike, and for those who must study this uninteresting language, it is surely of extreme value. M.

27. *Schliemann's Excavations; an archæological and historical study.* By Dr. C. SCHUCHHARDT. (London: Macmillan & Co.) The book before us is the English edition prepared and translated in a most commendable manner by Eugénie Sellers. Dr. Schuchhardt's work derives a special, though melancholy, interest from the circumstance that now the great Pathfinder of Trojan antiquity is no more; no fresh discoveries, no brilliant theories, no learned works will issue from that source; the enthusiast merchant, the famous Heinrich Schliemann is dead.

Dr. Schuchhardt's book is, indeed, a *magnum opus*, for from the vast

quantity of mostly ill-arranged and not readily accessible material of Schliemann's researches a handy and most carefully elaborated 8vo. volume of—in the English edition—not more than 340 odd pages (without the introduction and the very numerous and excellent illustrations, scale-drawings, maps, etc.) is placed at our disposal. A very noticeable feature is the learned introduction by Dr. W. Leaf, which in itself forms the best review of Dr. Schuchhardt's, and also generally, Schliemann's labours. M.

28. *Le Droit Coutumier des Khevsours*. Par VICTOR DINGELSTEDT. (Paris : Ernest Thorin.) A scholarly twelve-page pamphlet.

29. *Histoire des Relations de la France avec l'Abyssinie Chrétienne sous les règnes de Louis XIII., et de Louis XIV.* Par LE VTE. DE CAIX DE SAINT AYMOUR. 2nd Edition. (Paris : A. Faivre et H. Teillard.) Whatever comes from the pen of this learned writer is worthy of close study. The book before us is no exception ; it shows a deal of research, and gives information of quite a special nature, throwing much side-light on the history of those times. M.

30. *In the Land of the Lion and Sun, or Modern Persia*. By C. J. WILLS, M.D. Dr. Wills has produced a very readable book in recounting his experiences in Persia from 1866 to 1881. More stress should have been laid on the fact that the work recounts the author's personal experiences only, as the bare title is somewhat misleading. We do not think that this is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of Persia, but the book is decidedly interesting and often amusing. The illustrations are well chosen ; those from native drawings are quaint, and lend a special charm to the book. M.

31. *The Life and Times of Hafiz of Shiraz*. By M. HAMEED-ULLAH, B.A. (Cantab). (Allahabad.) The able editor of the "Allahabad Review" must be congratulated upon the scholarship and critical acumen displayed in his little brochure on the celebrated Persian poet. M.

32. *Max Müller and the Science of Language : A Criticism*. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, Prof. in Yale University. (New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1892.) In connection with the recent new and revised edition of Prof. F. Max Müller's "Science of Language," Prof. Whitney successfully essays—not for the first time—to point out the errors of this eminent popularizer. We cannot quote from cover to cover, as, in the interests of Orientalism, we should like to do ; but we invite a careful perusal of this able "criticism," the more so as Prof. Whitney, whether he be impersonal or personal in his remarks, shows himself, *unlike* his opponent, a *fair fighter*. With singular appreciativeness he is alive to the undoubted merits of Prof. F. Max Müller, and even finds space for expressing his admiration of them in referring to the Oxford professor as "a born *littérateur*," who, though not pretending to consistency, approaches "in his genial way," a subject "from one side, and presents one lively view of it ; then he approaches it from another side, and presents another view ; how the two views stand related to one another is no concern of his."

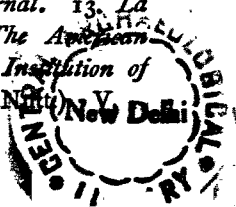
It is to be hoped that when a further edition of Prof. Max Müller's "Science of Language" should become necessary, the author will avail himself largely of Prof. Whitney's hints, and change the title into "Facts and Fancies in regard to Language and other related subjects." H.

33. *Across Thibet*, being a translation of "De Paris au Tonkin à travers le Tibet inconnu." By GABRIEL BONVALOT, translated by C. B. PITMAN. 2 vols. (Cassell & Co.) In the little space at our disposal we can but draw the attention of our readers to M. Bonvalot's latest work and its English translation. Explorations in Asia contrast with those in other countries, notably Africa, in so far as they are generally fruitful of important results, and the bringing to light of really interesting and valuable information. If self-command, dauntless pluck, knowledge of character, tenacity of purpose, and good-humour are the qualities that go to make a successful traveller, M. Bonvalot can certainly claim to be one. As regards the information collected, it chiefly depends upon powers of observation and a sympathetic nature; of the former gift our intrepid explorer has a fair share, as testified by the book before us. The self-possession of M. Bonvalot is apparent from many incidents; the most striking instance, perhaps, is the account of the Chinese official at Kurla, who, without proper authority, confiscated M. Bonvalot's pass, and then produced a warrant for the latter's arrest; to the extreme terror of the Chinaman, his intended victim took possession of the warrant, presumably for eventual submission at Peking. The result was the speedy restoration of the pass in return for the warrant. The narrative of the hardships endured is the more impressive from the unassuming way in which it is written. It would be unfair to conclude this brief notice without a reference to the, in every way worthy, companions of M. Bonvalot—Prince Henry of Orleans, to whom the excellent illustrations are due, and Father Dedeken. As regards the translation and the get-up of the book, translator and publisher both deserve praise. H.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of:—

1. *The Syrian Church in India*, by G. MIENE RAE, M.A. (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1892), which we received too late for due notice, but which a cursory examination shows to be a work of some research and great interest, with the blemish of a somewhat anti-Catholic tone.
2. *Vikramorvasi of Kalidasa*. Translated into Spanish by F. G. AYUSO;
- and 3. *Sakuntala*, by the same. (Madrid.)
4. *Missaõ do Visconde de San Januario, nas Republicas da America do Sul*. (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.)
5. *The Rauzat-us-safa, or Garden of Purity*. By E. REHATSEK. (Part I., vol 2), completing that lamented scholar's translation of the first part of *Mirkhond's General History*.
6. *Great Britain's Work in Egypt* (T. and A. Constable, Edinburgh), showing well the benefits reaped in Egypt from British occupation, and that all that is needed, and must be taken, is time to complete reforms.
7. *La Civiltà Catholica* (Rome: Alessandro Bessani), the most notable paper in which is Fr. de Cara's on the identity of the Pelasgians and Hittites.
8. *Le Polybiblion*.
9. *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*.
10. *La Revue des Revues*.
11. *La Minerva*.
12. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Journal*.
13. *La Revue Générale*.
14. *The Contemporary Review*.
15. *The American Journal of Philology*.
16. *Journal of the United Service Institution of Simla*.
17. *Graetz' Hist. of the Jews*, vols. 3, 4, & 5. (David Nathan, New Delhi)







N.C.  
S

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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